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Title/Theme

THE NAZI HOLOCAUST

**A CONTEXT STATEMENT SUBMITTED TO MIDDLESEX UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY BY PUBLISHED WORKS**

by

RONNIE S LANDAU

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

MIDDLESEX UNIVERSITY

FEBRUARY 1997

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ABSTRACT

The Nazi Holocaust represents an original, interdisciplinary contribution to the field of education, with special reference to the teaching of the humanities in general, and history in particular. Its claim to originality lies in its overall educational conception, in its approach to understanding and transmitting the memory¹ and lessons of the Holocaust and in its filling a palpable gap.²

Before the publication of my work, despite hundreds of volumes devoted at various levels to the subject - from fields as disparate as history, psychology, sociology, theology, moral philosophy, literature and jurisprudence - there was no single accessible, multidimensional volume for the many hundreds of teachers who were faced - often suddenly, as in the case of Britain - with the intimidating task of teaching this most complex of subjects; under-informed and under-resourced, they were often resigned to teaching it badly or not at all.³

Those works that were available were either too simplistic,⁴ or were too narrowly focused, over-scholasticised and sometimes shrouded in mystification:⁵ they generally failed to take sufficient stock of the fact that the Holocaust had historical and ideological antecedents, such decontextualisation⁶ being, perhaps, the single most glaring educational problem I identified; virtually all 'historical' works failed even to ask, let alone address, the serious moral and psychological questions raised by the subject,⁷ and - most seriously - often formed part of an extremist, partisan and passionate literature, seemingly unable or unwilling to grapple with its broader educational meaning [a meaning that I would argue in my book went way beyond the world of its Jewish victims].⁸

My work set out to make good these shortcomings, and to attempt a breakthrough in the transmission of its most salient messages for all. In a clear, educationally provocative, yet scholarly fashion, I sought to mediate between a vast, often unapproachable literature, and the hard-pressed teacher and student who wrestle with its meaning. By examining it from different disciplinary perspectives, I also wanted to demonstrate that no one discipline can claim an educational monopoly on this subject.

My work aimed to break new ground in the educational sphere by locating the Holocaust within a number of historically important and educationally desirable contexts: namely Jewish history, modern German history, genocide in the modern age, and the larger story of human indifference, bigotry and the triumph of ideology over conscience. It examined the impact and aftermath of the Holocaust, considering its implications not only for the surviving Jewish world (including the State of Israel)⁹ but for all humanity.¹⁰

In such a highly-charged emotional and intellectual arena, my work aimed, uniquely, to strike an enlightened balance between various Scyllas and Charybdises, standing, as it were, in the educational and historiographical crossfire of often diametrically opposed views.¹¹

The philosophical starting-point of my work is that the Holocaust, though unquestionably a unique historical event, should not be cordoned off from the rest of human experience and imprisoned within the highly-charged realm of 'Jewish experience'. It offers a new educational perspective by stressing that the attempt to

understand even so appalling a tragedy as the Holocaust is, like all good education, ultimately about the making, and not the breaking, of *connections*. In short, the Holocaust as educational theme is *both* unique¹² *and* universal.¹³

1. BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

The Nazi Holocaust was first published in Britain in December 1992 by IB Tauris of London,¹⁴ and, subsequently, in the United States in April 1994 by Ivan R Dee of Chicago.¹⁵

This work's *raison d'être* was to make a unique and badly needed contribution to the field of liberal, humanistic education; and, by helping to move the study of the Holocaust from the parochial margins of the educational world, to help establish it as a mainstream academic subject. Broadly stated, its educational aims can be described as belonging to those that wish to perpetuate the memory of the Holocaust of the Nazi era and to transmit its essential lessons - both particular and universal - for all humanity. As I hope to demonstrate, not least by reference to the various review articles that welcomed and praised it, the work's intention was to make a significant, distinctive and lasting contribution, both to the teaching of the Holocaust - in a variety of educational and academic settings in Britain, the United States and elsewhere - and to educational conceptions of how the moral and historical significance of the Holocaust can in the future be conveyed.

Much of the educational thinking and reflections on which this work was based, flowed from my extensive personal experience of teaching, over a twenty-year period, a variety of humanities subjects, including Classical civilisation - languages, literature, history, and philosophy - modern world history, English language, literature and drama.¹⁶ For the last eleven years of this period, first as Director of the ~~Spiro~~ **Institute** for the Study of Jewish History and Culture,¹⁷ then as Director of the **British Holocaust Education**

Project,¹⁸ I had taught about the Nazi period; usually, though not always, this was tackled within the framework of a course in modern Jewish history, which I offered at many different levels - to AO level, sixth-form general studies, A level, university (undergraduate and postgraduate), and to adult and rabbinic students. For about seven years, I had also been involved in the conception and staging of professional training seminars - for secondary school teachers of many different subject specialisms, including history, literature, personal and social education, religious studies, and liberal studies.¹⁹ These seminars explored competing ways of teaching the Holocaust within their schools. Primary school teachers would also occasionally attend these seminars, and clearly found them useful, even though I could claim no experience - let alone expertise - in handling the problems of teaching this or any other subject at primary school level.

The idea for the seminars and, later on, for the book itself, as I state in the preface, initially grew out of 'numerous conversations I had held with disgruntled and frustrated teachers'. While wishing to transmit the Holocaust's most compelling messages, they had suffered from a dearth of materials that were suitable both for their students and for themselves. They had thus chosen either to miss out altogether a subject they considered of the utmost importance, or - arguably even less satisfying and acceptable - they were prepared to offer 'only the most superficial and inadequate treatment; a shortcoming of which they were, in most cases, painfully aware but to which they had grown uncomfortably resigned.'²⁰

In this work, I consciously set out to provide access - especially for teachers - to a vast, often intimidating literature that, from an educator's standpoint, was frankly

unsatisfactory. I sought to locate the Holocaust within a number of different, historically important and, in my view, educationally necessary contexts (one or more of which were omitted from all other works dealing - or purporting to deal - with the subject: namely Jewish history, modern German history, genocide in the modern age, and the larger story of human indifference, prejudice, bigotry and the triumph of ideology over conscience).²¹ Shunning simplistic, one-dimensional 'explanations', educationally damaging mystification, and the narrowly focused, over-scholasticised approach that renders many academic monographs - couched so often in social-scientific jargon²² - frankly inaccessible to the ordinary teacher and student, I tended, throughout the work, to offer questions rather than hard-and-fast answers. However, throughout this undertaking I tried to remain conscious of the following dilemma: that to offer no 'explanation' at all can be as much of a mystification as to offer the wrong one. Teaching the Holocaust - a message I was invariably at pains to drive home to teachers in the various seminars I led - essentially involved a whole series of rather difficult balancing, or juggling, acts; so many middle courses to be steered between as many polar opposite perspectives and (historical) schools of thought.

Put very briefly, my experience as student, teacher and teacher trainer in this specialist field over the eleven-year period leading up to the writing of this book, led me to the following observations and convictions about the overall cultural, intellectual and educational context (these observations would form much of the background to, and rationale behind, my decision to embark on this work): The Holocaust of the Nazi era is now generally - if, at times, grudgingly²³ - viewed as one of the most momentous events in the modern period of human history. Yet, despite whole libraries of scholarly works devoted to it - from fields as disparate as history, psychology, sociology,

theology, moral philosophy, literature and jurisprudence - and despite the myriad educational curricula given over to it,²⁴ virtually all of which are to be found in the United States, it remains on many levels a baffling and unfathomable mystery.

The Holocaust has also penetrated our popular culture on all manner of planes, and shows every sign of continuing to do so in ever more experimental and diverse ways.²⁵ At its most inspiring - in the hands of, say, a responsible and skilful teacher, writer or film maker - it can be morally uplifting and spiritually enriching, and could be described as arguably the ultimate humanities topic; as such, it has the potential (I should more accurately say, power) - perhaps more than any other single educational theme - to sensitise and even civilise our students, preparing them for decent, tolerant adulthood and for all that is deemed best and wholesome in good citizenship²⁶ [particularly apt in the United Kingdom at the time of writing, in the light of the various political pronouncements from all parties about the need for a revitalisation of 'moral' education!]. At the same time, in the hands of the malevolent, the cavalier, or the ideologically motivated, it remains a most malleable, easily misused, misrepresented and politicised topic.²⁷

I set out to make as clear as possible the range of competing approaches, to warn of the potentially damaging effects of an ill-informed or politically motivated stance, and to try, where appropriate, to reconcile apparently contradictory positions.

The philosophical and original starting-point of my work, distilled from my immersion in the literature and international scholarship on the subject, and in response to the historiographical fixations and almost manichaeian bifurcations, is this: although the

Holocaust, as an entire event, is a unique and hence unrepeatable occurrence in human history, it should not be cordoned off - as a 'unique', essentially 'Jewish' event - from the rest of human experience, and thus continue essentially to be imprisoned within the highly-charged realm of 'Jewish experience'. Striving to understand even so appalling and unspeakable a tragedy as the Holocaust, should, like all good education, ultimately be about the making, not the breaking of connections. In short, the Holocaust as an educational theme is *both unique and universal*.

As three of the reviewers of my work would later write:

'Landau has set out frankly to bridge the gap, to produce a responsible and accessible' work' which considers both the painfully particular and universal aspects of the Holocaust'

(Matthew Reisz, *Times Educational Supplement*)²⁸

'Although the book is guided by the understanding of an historian, it is motivated by the purpose of an educator ... As an educator Landau wants to move beyond regarding the Holocaust only as a Jewish tragedy, to universalise it. At the same time ... in an important message for all engaged in Holocaust education, he stresses that one can only understand its universality if one understands its uniqueness, and that one can only make sense of its general human context from a solid understanding of its Jewish context.'

(Clive King, *The Journal of Holocaust Education*)²⁹

and 'Without sacrificing either its uniqueness or universal implications, without glossing over the multiplicity of strands that culminated in a tragedy of unparalleled depravity, Landau has removed the Holocaust from a purely Jewish context and shown it to be a phenomenon of our time'

(Emma Klein, *The Tablet*)³⁰

In this work, I have tried to explore the meaning of the Holocaust and to present its importance as going beyond even the ghastly specificity of its Jewish dimensions; but in a such a way as not to undermine its Jewish particularity. I have not only tried to describe, within and on its own terms, the historical event of the Holocaust, but, in placing it in a wider context of European history and human experience, my educational point is that the Holocaust - and its meaning - is simply lost if it is not also seen as a

universal experience.³¹ I feel that, by viewing the Holocaust as merely a Jewish tragedy³² (which of course it also indisputably was), we are in danger of marginalising it - or, rather, continuing to marginalise it - into a Jewish experience, thus losing the universal lessons to be learnt from it. My attempts to see the educational meaning of the Holocaust as reaching beyond the Jewish world makes this book, I think, an original and, still, - more than four years after its initial publication - a unique contribution to the field of education. That this work, the American edition of which has so far been reprinted six times, continues to have a cross-disciplinary resonance, a distinctiveness and freshness of approach, is evidenced by Routledge having recently commissioned from the author another book as a free-standing 'educational companion' to this earlier volume.³³

2. STUDY, RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

a) Introduction

My extensive preparation and research were conducted using multiple categories of source material: historical archives; published collections of primary documents; educational curricula and curricular materials - published and unpublished - from different countries, especially Israel and the United States; photographic archives; Holocaust museums and exhibitions; newspapers and periodicals; academic journals; documentary and feature films; interviews with living witnesses to the Holocaust; audio-cassettes and video-cassettes containing personal eye-witness testimonies; works of literature, including drama and poetry; works of art - especially paintings - produced both during and after the Holocaust years; and, most importantly - within the context of an educational project - an enormous range of secondary scholarly works, drawn from a variety of disciplines, especially history, philosophy, psychology, anthropology, sociology, theology, law, literature, and art history. [I was extremely fortunate during the period of my research to have been appointed Editor-in-chief by Pergamon Press of the 'Remembering for the Future' anthologies, comprising over 300 scholarly papers and drawn from many different humanities disciplines.] ³⁴

b) Methodological Considerations

Historical research has been classically defined as the 'systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions about past events'.³⁵ As L. Cohen and L. Manion reflect - in this context, they perhaps seem rather optimistic, if not innocent - historical research 'is an act of reconstruction undertaken in a spirit of critical enquiry to achieve a faithful

representation of a previous age.³⁶ It further implies an holistic perspective, in so far as the method of enquiry characterising historical research attempts to 'encompass and then explain the whole realm of man's past in a perspective that greatly accents his social, cultural, economic and intellectual development'.³⁷

The potential values inherent in historical research have been postulated by J. Hill and A. Kerber as follows:

1. It enables solutions to contemporary problems to be sought in the past.
2. It throws light on present and future trends.
3. It stresses the relative importance and the effects of the various interactions that are to be found in all cultures. [In the context of the Holocaust, and virtually all cases of wrongdoing and injustice, this human interaction is essentially between three sets of protagonists: perpetrators, bystanders and victims.]
4. It allows for the re-evaluation of data in relation to selected hypotheses, theories and generalisations that are presently held about the past.³⁸

Rather than adopt a totally detached and uninvolved approach - neither feasible nor desirable given the nature of my subject and my preoccupation with crystallising what was of educational value - the intention of the research was to strike an equitable balance between polar extreme positions within the spectrum of possible epistemological and historiographical assumptions.³⁹ [See, for example, my views expressed in this context statement on the compromises that I feel must be negotiated within the uniqueness/universality (pp. 2-3, 7-9, 26, 33-34, 41-42, 43-45, 52-53, & 55) and 'intentionalist'/'functionalist' (pp. 32-34) debates and dichotomies.]⁴⁰

I was acutely conscious of the problematic nature of 'objectivity' within the social sciences in general and the history of the Holocaust in particular, and an awareness of this complexity guided much of my research methodology.⁴¹ It need hardly be emphasized here that, in the case of this particular historical event, much of the vital resource material which might otherwise have aided and illuminated our understanding died with the victims who might have furnished it. I was thus concerned to get the most out of what was available, trying to get a 'fix' on what approximates to historical 'truth' by employing a multiplicity of resources, methods, investigative tools and theories, in order to address different but complementary questions.

With an historical phenomenon such as the Holocaust, viewed through the emotive and guilt-edged prisms and experiences of so many - victims, survivors, perpetrators, bystanders and rescuers - objectivity (even when measured against the relatively unconvincing standards normally associated with social and political history) is inevitably at risk from the values, interests and prejudices evident in the 'sources', whether primary or secondary.

In assessing the historical, moral and educational importance of the Nazi Holocaust, my canvas was an extremely large one - larger than research projects commonly are - and, since my overriding objective was educational, this would inform my research methodology every step of the way: in addition to examining critically important collections of historical documents, memoirs and autobiographies (the secondary category of so-called 'primary sources'), I made extensive use of the vast array of 'secondary' sources: academic monographs, anthologies of scholarly essays, existing educational curricula and documentary films. I also investigated many authentic

'primary sources' - the stuff of most original historical research [employing the focus of a rifle rather than that of a shotgun⁴²] but, given my educational priorities, my main concern was to try to make sense of - and to evaluate - the different ways the Holocaust had been, and was generally being, communicated and transmitted across the generations. I was wary of placing excessive reliance on data gleaned from selected individual sources, since objectivity and the integrity of the whole would be put under even greater threat; for most individuals, caught up in the maelstrom that we call the 'Holocaust', had no conception at the time of the terrible whole of which they were part - certainly as victims; almost as certainly as bystanders; and hardly less certainly even in the case of many of the perpetrators.

When scrutinising each document, memoir, essay, book, photograph or curriculum, I generally asked four key questions of the topic under investigation, following - to some extent - the interrogative pegs that are suggested by L. Gottschalk:

1. Where do the events under consideration take place?
2. Who are the people involved?
3. When exactly do the events occur?
4. What kinds of human activity are involved?⁴³

As R.M.W. Travers points out, the scope of an historical topic can be modified by adjusting the focus of any one of Gottschalk's four categories: the geographical area involved can be increased or decreased: a greater or smaller number of people can be included; the time span can be enlarged or diminished; and the human activity under consideration can be broadened or narrowed.⁴⁴

While striving to be as objective as the subject and my own involvement would allow, I was ever mindful that human history can never, of course, be truly values-free. 'Objectivity' in the social sciences is no more and no less than that which 'multiple observers agree to as a phenomenon, in contrast to the subjective experience of the single individual. In other words, the criterion for objectivity is intersubjective agreement.'⁴⁵ I was also conscious of the inescapable reality, as expounded by Hill and Kerber, that the evaluation and formulation of a problem associated with historical research invariably involves the personality of the researcher [and, in this research project, where a consideration and analysis of many secondary works would be involved, that of other scholars and authors] to a greater extent than do other forms of research. They suggest that the personal characteristics of the investigator such as interest, motivation, level of historical curiosity and educational [and, in this case especially, ideological] background tend to exert a greater influence on the selection of the problem and the interpretation of historical facts.⁴⁶

On the other hand, as W.R. Borg observes, 'Without hypotheses [and presuppositions] historical research often becomes little more than an aimless gathering of facts.'⁴⁷ The hypothesis is what gives direction and focus to data collection and analysis. Or, as H.C. Hockett puts it:

Historical method is, strictly speaking, a process supplementary to observations, a process by which the historian attempts to test the truthfulness of the reports of observations made by others. Like the scientist, he examines the data and formulates hypotheses, ie. tentative conclusions. These conjectures he must test by seeking fresh evidence or re-examining the old, and this process he must continue until, in the light of all available evidence, the hypotheses are abandoned as untenable or modified until they are brought into conformity with the available evidence.⁴⁸

I have some small sympathy with L. Stanley and S. Wise's radical assertion [within the framework of a discussion of feminist research methodology, whose early dilemmas and tensions bear more than a passing resemblance to those of Jewish historiography] that objectivity in the social sciences is, in principle, impossible to achieve and that all research is therefore effectively '... "fiction"' in the sense that it views and so constructs reality through the eyes of one person.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, I believe that theirs is, in the final analysis, too extreme a position (almost a fundamentalist one, in fact) - the methodological equivalent of nihilism; instead, I would argue that it is sometimes - though not, of course, always or perhaps even often - possible to sift elements of objectivity from the realm of seeming reality, even if we are all still living in Plato's allegorical cave.

c) Study, Research and Preparation

I carried out the formal study, research and preparation in London, Israel and the United States during the period September 1989 - December 1990. In London, I conducted my research within the following institutions and organisations: the Wiener Library, the central reservoir of historical documents, academic journals and other secondary sources, on the Nazi period in Great Britain; the library of the Institute of Jewish Affairs; the University of London Institute of Education (educational journals and curricula); University College London Department of Jewish History; the Spiro Institute for the Study of Jewish History and Culture; the Yakar Educational Foundation, Hendon; Jews' College Library; and the Leo Baeck College Library.

In Israel, I conducted my research and study in the following institutions: Yad Vashem Museum (historical and educational archives) in Jerusalem; the Histadrut (Israeli

Trades Union) Archive, Tel Aviv; the Hebrew University of Jerusalem's Institute of Contemporary Jewry (vital access to unpublished work, e.g. David Bankier's Ph.D on ordinary Germans and the Jewish Question);⁵⁰ the museum and archive at Kibbutz Lochamei Hagetaot (the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz) in northern Israel; and the Beth Hatfutsot (Museum of the Diaspora) in Tel Aviv. I interviewed three senior teacher trainers based at the Hebrew University's Education Faculty and its Melton Centre for Jewish Education in the Diaspora, and made use of their extensive educational library. I also interviewed two members of the Israeli education Ministry who had responsibility for devising the history curriculum for the state's secular schools system; and the Director of Education at the Yad Vashem Museum, Jerusalem.

In the United States, I made use of the following institutions: the Holocaust Memorial Council, Washington DC; (before the Holocaust Memorial Museum was built); the Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Boston; the B'nai B'rith Anti-defamation League, New York; the Yivo Institute for Jewish Research, New York; and the Coalition for Alternatives in Jewish Education, also in New York.

Under the auspices of the British Holocaust Education Project, I also conducted a survey by questionnaire of the educational experiences, opinions and preferences of several hundred secondary school teachers in England and Wales. They were selected both from the Spiro Institute's mailing list of interested schools and from a list, provided by the Cambridge Examinations Board, of schools which were then studying the Third Reich as part of their A-level history course. The questionnaires were sent to Head Teachers, who were asked to distribute copies to all departments in which the Holocaust was studied, or even touched upon, in the course of the school year. Just

under half of those teachers who returned the questionnaire tackled the Holocaust as a topic within subjects other than history.

The questionnaire investigated: a) the disciplinary and course framework(s) in which British teachers offered the Holocaust; b) the age group(s) taught; c) the time allocated to the subject in an average academic year; d) the historical, thematic and overall educational contexts within which the subject was generally approached; e) the teachers' preferences with respect to these diverse approaches; f) what, in the teachers' view, constituted the most important 'lessons' of the Holocaust; g) the greatest difficulties experienced in teaching the subject; h) their prioritisation of needs regarding types of written material for teachers and students; and i) their willingness to attend special professional training seminars and conferences, which I was to stage later that year, to explore competing and complementary approaches to teaching the Holocaust.

I should perhaps add - and, indeed, stress - that much of the educational thinking on which my work would be based, flowed from my own extensive experience - over a twenty-year period (1971-91) - as teacher of a range of humanities subjects, including - during the last eleven years of this period - modern Jewish history. I had also spent seven critical years (1984-91) - during the latter part of my time as Educational Director of the Spiro Institute for the Study of Jewish History and Culture and, subsequently, as Director of the British Holocaust Education Project - devising novel methods of training teachers of the Holocaust within a variety of disciplines. These methods increasingly owed their origin to a set of new and forward-thinking principles, themselves derived from my extensive exposure - and, to some extent, growing

resistance - to the educational (and often intellectual) limitations of much of the scholarly literature on the subject.

So, after more than a decade in which I had been an educational specialist in the social, political and intellectual history of the Jewish people, focusing especially on the Nazi era (but moving increasingly away from a particularistic perspective), I was especially well placed to embark upon a research project of this nature, one which would attempt to marry the scholastic with the educational.

3. MY WORK CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO OTHER WORKS

It would be helpful to consider my work in relation to other, significant works in the twin fields of Holocaust history and Holocaust education. In addition to locating my work generally within the literature that has filled academic bookshelves since the 1960s, I shall deal, in particular, with six such works, in each case offering a brief critique which, in turn, will shed light on my own work: of these six, three appeared before my work was published, one of which was of a distinctly pedagogic hue; of the other three which have appeared since 1992, one was also self-consciously 'educational' in its scope and intent.

They are, in the order (deliberately non-chronological) that I shall take them: Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners* (1996); Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust: the Jewish Tragedy* (1986); Michael Marrus, *The Holocaust in History* (1987); Carrie Supple, *From Prejudice to Genocide: Learning about the Holocaust* (1993); Yisrael Gutman and Chaim Schatzker, *The Holocaust and Its Significance* (1984); and, to highlight limitations in my own work, Henry Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: from Euthanasia to the Final Solution* (1995), which I shall consider at the very end of this context statement.

a) Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners* (1996)

I shall start with the most recent of the six works, Daniel Jonah Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners*.⁵¹ This work is a glaring example of an historian's approach to the Holocaust militating against the needs and goals of an enlightened educator; it is also, I feel, a demonstration of the extent to which truth and common sense can easily

become casualties of the quest for sensationalism. Accompanied by an exceptional fanfare of publicity, while not being quite as one-dimensional as some of its own promotional literature would suggest,⁵² it has been deservedly criticized by most, though certainly not all, academic reviewers.⁵³ Some of its detailed, painstaking research is to be commended as a contribution to the overall picture we have of the Nazi period: the chapters on the police battalions, used to round up and shoot Jews in large numbers, reveal a story which has largely been neglected by Holocaust historians;⁵⁴ while much of the information it provides on the so-called 'labour' camps and death marches is of enormous value. However, its much trumpeted, generalised conclusions about the rabid, 'eliminationist' antisemitism - an alleged social (pre-)disposition pervading an entire culture and nation since the late nineteenth century - and consequent murderous role of ordinary Germans, deriving as they do from highly selective evidence, frankly have no place in the realm of serious scholarship, and are unworthy of some of the meticulous work the author has put in en route to these conclusions - or, as I should more accurately say, suppositions.

His work appears, in the final analysis, to be little more than a rejection of over thirty years of increasingly sophisticated - and educationally helpful - scholarship, aimed at showing just how problematic is the question of indicting an entire people.⁵⁵ Goldhagen rejects all explanations other than his mono-causal 'eliminationist antisemitism': that is, coercion; obedience to authority;⁵⁶ peer pressure; desire for personal advancement; or failure to comprehend the genocidal process of which they were part, due to the fragmentary nature of the role played by each cog in death machine. Gitta Sereny, whose own, much earlier exploration of the mind of the perpetrator (1974), was truly ground-breaking, described Goldhagen's work as no more than a 'hymn of hate towards

the German people'. I agree with her verdict. The Holocaust is not, in essence, a German story, it is a human story; it is not a story about German frailties, it is about human frailties; it is not a story about a prejudice and a bigotry to which the Germans en masse succumbed and on which the German people and German history have some sort of monopoly;⁵⁷ it is, in part, a story about prejudice and bigotry as the companions of human history, and as tendencies that appear to be intrinsic to - and arguably ineradicable from - human nature; it is also a story about the power of human indifference and the extraordinary horrors ordinary people can connive at, without ever being sold - or needing to be sold - on an ideology of hatred.

I must here stress the irony and inappropriateness of approaching the Holocaust and its lessons by demonising and dehumanising the German people [see also below, pp. 41-42]. The refining task of Holocaust scholarship and education, it seems to me, is surely to call into question, rather than simplistically reinforce, stereotyped thinking, and to encourage a balanced and complex historical judgment on all sides. In this sense, Goldhagen has performed a profound disservice; all the more so, given the sterling investigation into attitudes and behaviour of ordinary Germans by - among others - Raul Hilberg,⁵⁸ Hannah Arendt,⁵⁹ Gitta Sereny,⁶⁰ Ian Kershaw,⁶¹ David Bankier⁶² and Otto Dov Kulka.⁶³

As if in anticipation of the brouhaha which Goldhagen's work would later stir up, my book addresses a point that is central to a debate which can essentially be summarised as 'ordinary men versus natural-born killers'.⁶⁴ In the conclusion to chapter nine, which deals with the attitudes, role and culpability of ordinary Germans, I write:

If *all* Germans had been solidly and undeviatingly behind Hitler - if they had

all been rabidly committed to Nazi Jew-hatred - in a curious way that would have made the Nazi era in general, and the Holocaust in particular, a *less* frightening phenomenon. For had that been the case - if all Germans had thought and behaved as one - this twentieth-century episode could simply be dismissed as an utterly bizarre historical aberration ... But the truth is that Nazi Germany did exist in the real world; Germans of the 1930s and 1940s - like any other set of human beings - embraced a whole range of different attitudes and sentiments. ... *And yet* the Nazi Party reigned supreme and succeeded in implementing the most ghastly parts of its unlikely programme. That is what finally makes the Nazi era so horrifying: that so many Germans, who at no time embraced Nazi ideology, were capable - in relation to the Jews, at any rate - of suspending normal moral standards and of blocking out of their minds the horror they had indirectly promoted. ... To state this alarming reality does little to resolve the vexed question of the 'responsibility' of the ordinary German. In the context of a totalitarian society such as Nazi Germany that entire issue remains open-ended, highly subjective and deeply problematic. But one thing is for certain: the German people cannot pin *all* the blame on Adolf Hitler and a handful of his cronies.⁶⁵

In contradistinction to Goldhagen's decidedly Germanophobic stance, my book emphasises that those in the education business must understand that the Holocaust, for all its freakishness, *was* a human event - all too human. It shows that humanity is, on the one hand, eminently capable of doing anything that our technology makes possible; is horrifyingly ready to perform unimagined acts of wholesale destruction and self-destruction. The Holocaust, to paraphrase Samuel Pisar, a survivor of Auschwitz, was not, as he thought at the time, the end of the world, but possibly the beginning of the end of the world, if we ignore its universal implications.⁶⁶ In which regard I tentatively explore, towards the end of the final chapter of my book, the philosophical connection between the reality of the Nazi Holocaust and possibility of a nuclear Holocaust.⁶⁷

b) Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust: the Jewish Tragedy* (1986)

So far, I have examined certain aspects of my work in relation to Goldhagen's book, which was published a few years after the release of my book. In order further to

locate my work within the context of the significant literature on the subject, let me now offer a critique of another much heralded work, Martin Gilbert's *The Holocaust: the Jewish Tragedy* - first published in the United Kingdom in 1986 - and, in so doing, throw further light on what motivated my own research. Indeed, it was largely in response to Gilbert's massive work, that I first started to think seriously, and write seriously, about the kind of educational literature that I felt was still so badly needed.⁶⁹

In 1986, in response to the publication of *The Holocaust: the Jewish Tragedy*, what emerged was an often fascinating range of views, not only on what constituted 'welcome' Holocaust research, but on the role of the historian and the alleged limitations of narrative history, as practised by Gilbert, as an analytical medium for grappling with uniquely complex human events. Some, like Norman Stone⁷⁰ and George Steiner⁷¹ castigated Gilbert for failing to offer any 'explanation' for the catastrophe, for ignoring its mystical dimensions and for producing what was merely a seamless narrative, while others, like Conor Cruise O'Brien,⁷² hailed the work as a painstaking piece of scholarship which wisely refrained from global judgment and which would be a standard reference work for years to come [in that prediction, he has, to judge by the ensuing eleven years at any rate, certainly been vindicated]. Others, particularly in the mainstream Jewish world, seemed simply to have been awed into uncritical reverence by the enormity and sacredness of the subject.⁷³

Clearly Martin Gilbert, arguably the greatest and most celebrated 'chronicler' of the twentieth century, made a conscious decision - which we must respect, if not applaud - not to trespass onto territory he considers beyond the scope of his methodology and to leave speculation on the Holocaust's implications for western civilisation and on the

meaning of life - Jewish and non-Jewish - to the philosophers, sociologists and theologians. Martin Gilbert was and is, of course, entitled to cast himself in the role of a Holocaust historian, whose task is not to provide or even to seek out meaning.

However, it seemed to me - back then in 1986 - to be disappointing that his work provided so little sustenance or support to those students, teachers and others who were struggling to understand the Holocaust and its moral, psychological and educational significance. In short, for the needs of the serious educator, this book - eagerly awaited - seemed inadequate.

Most of Gilbert's case studies are, if taken in small doses, terrifyingly memorable and gripping and, despite the impossibly remote and grim circumstances being described, they invite the reader's involvement and identification. But what we also have in Gilbert's work is an unrelenting catalogue of pain, suffering, humiliation and heroism - a criminal indictment, certainly, of Nazism and its helpers - curiously reminiscent, in its numbing effect, of Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*, except that the latter was perhaps the first systematic attempt at an inventory of Stalin's atrocities against his own people, while, in the case of the Holocaust, numerous works already filled the shelves.

Gilbert's approach, in my view, simply failed to take sufficient stock of the fact that the Holocaust had antecedents; that it took place within an historical context and not just within the context of war (a dangerous argument or assumption which, if left unchallenged, will almost certainly hold sway); that it had perpetrators whose motives may be analysed; and that it has had so determining an effect on postwar consciousness that it has generated a quite bewildering range of competing ideas, positions and theses,

that virtually demand a helpful historiographical overview [one, incidentally, that would be provided only a year later, in Michael Marrus' admirable *The Holocaust in History*, for a brief consideration of which please see below, p. 27].

What was needed, I felt, was a different approach, a forward-looking book that thought beyond the data, though not at the expense of the data; one that was not fixated on violence *sine causa*; one which resisted the obsessive need to prove in the 1980s that the Holocaust involved crushingly awful human suffering and to counteract the preposterous notions that six million didn't die or that the Holocaust was a Zionist hoax or conspiracy.

Gilbert failed to address the huge questions which the topic threw up - questions that invited synthesis rather than accumulation of information, the making of connections rather than the indigestible amassing of episodic material.

No one seriously expects answers, but as human beings confronted with the Holocaust, we can reasonably expect a search for answers, or at least an acknowledgement that the questions exist and are important. Such questions could include: those concerned with the moral state of western, Christian 'civilisation'; man's control over bureaucracy and technology in the twentieth century; the uniqueness or comparability of the Holocaust, the problem of Jewish preoccupation with, and self-definition through, the Holocaust; the complexity of the links between Nazi anti-Jewish ideology and earlier expressions of anti-Judaism and antisemitism; and the impact of the Holocaust on the psyche of the Jewish people, especially given Israel's continuing predicament.

A clue to the limitations of Gilbert's book lies, I think, in its very subtitle - *the Jewish Tragedy*. Forty years after the end of the war, there was, I felt, a need to reappraise our approach to the Holocaust, particularly its presentation as somehow a uniquely and exclusively 'Jewish' event. On the other hand, this insistence on the uniqueness of the Holocaust should not give way to an equally unacceptable conspiracy of banality, by which the Holocaust is reduced to an empty metaphor for all human cruelty, indifference and injustice. The struggle to come to terms with the enormity of the Holocaust through literature, film or a more analytical medium like history or psychology must strike an often precarious balance: holding fast, on the one hand, to its Jewish particularity, its place within Jewish history and the history of European anti-Judaism and, from the late nineteenth century, that of modern antisemitism; and comprehending, on the other, its universal messages, which must include a warning against ideologies, technologies or bureaucratic systems that threaten to enslave.

Gilbert's work was described by George Steiner as a kind of archivist's '*Kaddish*' - a ritual commemoration and recitation of names, heroes and horrific actions. His book is a feat of research-team coordination in a field where the diversity of material, written in so many different languages, makes the writing of his painstaking brand of history a Herculean labour. It is painful and difficult to read - as books on the Holocaust ought to be - and is a welcome addition to the canon of Holocaust literature for those whose approach is archival rather than reflective; Gilbert, as documenter rather than analyst, has therefore provided raw material for the more questioning historian and educationalist to utilise. Ultimately, though, I felt - at the time; at any rate - that it provided only the most partial view through the narrowest of prisms, namely that of testimonial history.⁷⁴

There are three other works of which I should like to offer a brief critique, in order to better explain the context and distinctiveness of my own work: they were written by Michael Marrus, Carrie Supple, and jointly by Yisrael Gutman and Chaim Schatzker, the latter two being strictly educational works against which mine can be more easily measured.

c) Michael Marrus, *The Holocaust in History* (1987)

In the task of treading gingerly and instructively through a minefield of controversial issues, Michael Marrus performed a most invaluable service. His work, *The Holocaust in History* was the first historiographical appraisal - fairly comprehensive - of the vast collection of scholarly literature on the subject.⁷⁵ He was prepared to address the most challenging questions concerning perpetrators, victims and bystanders: how, why and when did the Nazis determine a policy of mass annihilation? How are we to judge the behaviour and responsibility of numerous other groups - ordinary Germans, the citizens of vanquished states, Germany's allies, the various churches, the anti-Nazi allies, neutral countries and the Jews themselves?

In this highly readable, authoritative account, Marrus explores the central historical debates and changing direction and development of recent research. Above all, he is concerned that the Holocaust be recognised as more than just a tragic part of the history of the Jewish people. He therefore set out 'to integrate the history of the Holocaust into the general stream of historical consciousness'⁷⁶ and to apply to the subject the most rigorous standards of scholarly scrutiny and analysis. In this he succeeded admirably, producing what was, at the time, the single most impressive summary of the state of knowledge in this field.

d) Carrie Supple, *From Prejudice to Genocide: Learning about the Holocaust* (1994)

The other two works I should like to consider have, like mine, an overriding educational purpose, that is to provide help to both teachers and students. Both works, though, are limited in their scope, compared to my work, though, in the case of the first, that limitation is deliberate and does not detract from the author's intent. Carrie Supple, a history teacher working at the time in a Newcastle-upon-Tyne comprehensive school, set out to write a text specifically for the needs of those students in the United Kingdom who were then studying the Holocaust as part of GCSE history. In fact, the Holocaust has been taught as part of the National Curriculum in England and Wales since 1990. It was originally introduced as a component of Key Stage 4, but following a decision by the Secretary of State for Education to make history an option for this age group, rather than a requirement, it became a part of the Key Stage 3 curriculum. A recent survey indicates that the subject is most likely to be taught at the end of year 9 to students aged between 13 and 14.⁷⁷

Her work is thus guided and informed by the specific criteria then laid down for GCSE History syllabuses, including the highly controversial 'empathy' questions - particularly difficult in this emotive subject: the students would be asked to imagine that they were living in a certain time and would be invited to think themselves into the shoes of genuine protagonists on the stage of some historical event.

Supple's work, within the parameters it sets for itself and with teachers of younger students in mind, is an extremely important addition to educational works on the subject. While it shows some conceptual parallels with my own, slightly earlier work

- especially in its readiness to address other genocides and to try, however tentatively, to make helpful connections - it does not really represent, or purport to represent, the latest scholarly findings or historiographical tensions, because she is directing her work principally at the lower to middle order of the academic and age range.⁷⁸

Supple has produced an outstanding and moving book that both teachers and students will find informative and moving. A large amount of material is presented in a readily accessible fashion that succeeds in bringing home the horror and enormity of Nazi crimes. With its young readership in mind, her book is superbly illustrated and filled with telling quotations. An additional feature, which clearly differentiates it from my work, is the way the text is interwoven with the experiences of four individuals, Esther Brunstein, Werner Mayer, Harry Nagelsztaja, and Liesl Silverstone. At the end, the reader is introduced more formally to these four survivors, all now living in Britain. Employing an approach that is a model for those teaching pupils of this age, Supple thus succeeds in conveying that the Nazis did not just murder faceless categories of people, but real human beings with hopes, vulnerabilities and feelings and, most importantly, with families of their own - just like those reading her book.

e) The Zionist Dimension: Yisrael Gutman and Chaim Schatzker, *The Holocaust and its Significance* (1983)

Yisrael Gutman's and Chaim Schatzker's earlier educational work, *The Holocaust and its Significance* deals, on a much loftier plane, with the confrontation between history and competing ways of translating that history into good educational practice.⁷⁹ It shows a genuine feel for the dilemmas facing those confronting the daunting task of teaching the Holocaust. It was originally aimed at teachers within the Israeli high

schools system - an important constituency, since Israel is, of course, the only country in the world where the Holocaust is taught as part of the national history of its people (its Jewish citizens, that is).

However, it is - perhaps inevitably - underpinned, from start to finish, with certain Zionist ideological assumptions, its partisanship also extending to the devotion of an excessively large chunk of space to conditions in Palestine before, during and after the war. The centrality of Zionism is never far from the surface, and never more apparent than in the triumphalist ending to the book, culminating, as it does, with the emergence of the State of Israel from the ashes of the Nazi death camps. However, compared with other educational works on the Holocaust that have emanated from Israel - especially from the Israeli ministry of education during the post-1967 Golda Meir era and, later on, the Menachem Begin years in the late-1970s, this work most definitely has a contribution to make outside of Israel's borders.

In her doctoral research, Ruth Firer, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem's Educational Faculty, demonstrates just how inextricably linked Israel's overall political predicament has always been to the way in which the Holocaust is perceived within Jewish and Israeli history, and consequently taught, within the state's curricula, to Israel's schoolchildren.⁸⁰ She charts the development of this symbiotic relationship: from the 1950s and early 1960s, when the Holocaust was viewed principally as a source of national shame; through the gung-ho celebration, and often exaggeration, of the incidence of Jewish armed resistance to the Nazis - emphasising the links with the new, 'macho' and apparently invincible Israeli soldier of the post-1967 'Six-day War' period; to the post-Yom Kippur War identification of Israel, as a pariah nation, with

the persecuted Jews of European history and especially the beleaguered, ghettoised Jews of Nazi Europe.

Curiously, there also emerged, over the years, a particularly close Israeli identification with the heroic Warsaw ghetto uprising of April 1943, even though, this was essentially - and tragically - a collective act of suicide, motivated not by hope of success but by precisely its opposite: a sense of helplessness and despair, once there was actually no one left to fight for. Similarly, the fortress of Masada in the Judean Desert - the first-century site of a reported mass Jewish suicide, in preference to enslavement by the Romans - has become symbolically very important to the post-Holocaust Jewish state. It has often been said that Israel, no longer David to the Arabs' Goliath, could, if pushed too far, play Samson to their Philistines. This 'never again' philosophy, present throughout much of Jewish diaspora history but reinvigorated by the Holocaust experience, is one that has informed so much of Israel's security complex; perhaps, though, this interconnectedness - so emotive and painful - ought to transcend too close and logical a scrutiny.

The whole question of the re-emergence of Israel - the transition in only a few short years of the Jewish people from a state of abject political powerlessness to the possession of a militarily powerful, sovereign nation-state is educationally and historically of the utmost importance. In the final chapter of my book, therefore, I explore, among other themes, the complex relationship - historical, political and psychological - between the Nazi Holocaust and the State of Israel, the circumstances of whose eventual birth is clearly inextricably linked with the Hitler era.⁸¹

Gutman's and Schatzker's book, while arguably avoiding the most glaring trends of the 'Zionisation' of the Holocaust, nevertheless represents a teachers' guide, from which politically loaded glosses and emphases have first to be removed in order to reveal what is, in fact, quite a liberal, humanistic - though still decidedly particularistic - approach to the Holocaust and its significance. For them, too, the lessons of the Holocaust belong squarely in the realm of Jewish experience. And it was in response - and to some extent in resistance to works like this (and to Lucy Dawidowicz's angry, passionate and highly subjective earlier historiographical overview, *The Holocaust and the Historians*, in which she did all but accuse any historian who had ever ventured into this territory and cast even the slightest doubt on the unparalleled singularity and 'Jewishness' of the Holocaust, of harbouring antisemitic prejudices) that I would write my own book.⁸²

f) Intentionalists v Functionalists

Both before and during the period of my research and preparation, there was among Holocaust historians - especially in Germany - a major historiographical divide, with protagonists being polarised into broadly two camps. On the one hand, there were the so-called 'intentionalists', who - briefly stated - argued that the mass annihilation of the Jews was always intended, and that it was essentially a question of when, rather than whether, Hitler would implement his consistently held fantasies about a Jew-free Europe (or even world). To the 'intentionalists', the part played by Hitler was not only inspirational, but, in terms of planning and implementation, utterly central. The most prominent historians in the 'intentionalist' camp are Lucy Dawidowicz, Gerald Fleming, Eberhard Jaeckel and Karl Hildebrand.⁸³

In the other camp were to be found the so-called 'functionalist' or 'structuralist' school of historians, who broadly argued that the Holocaust was not so much the consequence of long-term, coherent planning - ordered, as it were, from the top of the Nazi state down - as blundered into, as a bureaucratic and decidedly *ad hoc* solution to their perceived Jewish problem, especially once the invasion of the Soviet Union was being planned and indeed undertaken. Views about the critical importance of the part played by Adolf Hitler varied considerably among the 'functionalists'. Some believed that the 'Final Solution' was not so much willed and decreed by Hitler as improvised by the bureaucrats; competing for favour in Hitler's eyes, they devised a solution to their leaders' 'Jewish problem' as a means of shoring up their own position within the corridors of power. The 'Final Solution' was, in this view, therefore a feature - to some extent - of the in-fighting and jostling for position within the upper echelons of the Nazi hierarchy. The 'Final Solution' was thus seen as a major triumph for bureaucrats like Himmler and eventually Eichmann. The 'functionalist' historians include Martin Broszat, Christopher Browning and Hans Mommsen.⁸⁴

One of the more engaging and moderately iconoclastic 'functionalists' is the American historian, Arno Mayer, who caused hackles to rise throughout the American-Jewish academic and 'political' establishment with his challenging - though, in the final analysis, resistible and unproven - view that the Final Solution was, in essence, an act of 'sour grapes' embarked upon only once the German campaign in the Soviet Union had started to go badly wrong, rather than the apogee of Hitler's triumphalism.⁸⁵

Generally speaking, 'intentionalists' also tend to the view that the Holocaust is an incomparably unique historical phenomenon, while the 'functionalists' are - perhaps

predictably - more likely to adopt a more universal, relativist stance. [Interestingly, Goldhagen claims that his work lies outside the 'intentionalist'/'functionalist' debate, whereas I would place him to the extreme right of the 'intentionalist' camp!]

In my own book, I would try to steer a course between these and other polar positions, (e.g. the dichotomy of uniqueness versus universality), recognising where there were elements of each position that merited serious consideration. For example, I argued that while Hitler's pure, full-blooded anti-Jewish *ideology* - the fantasy, if you like, of a Jew-free Europe - may be interpreted, from relatively early days, as aiming at an extermination, the Nazi government's anti-Jewish *policy* quite clearly did not. The policy, as I stress in my book, right up to 1939 - and possibly beyond - was aimed at a forced emigration; it was only the palpable refusal by other countries to relax their harsh immigration restrictions and the eventual exhaustion or inappropriateness - as they saw it - of other alternatives (e.g. the plan for mass evacuation of Jews to Madagascar)⁸⁶ that would lead to a definite shift in policy, away from forced migration to one of ghettoisation and eventual annihilation.

4. THE HOLOCAUST AS EDUCATIONAL THEME

a. Introduction

My book addresses head-on one of the most harrowing, perplexing and - for many - incomprehensible of educational themes; a topic that is frankly difficult to reconcile with much of what we are generally prepared to associate with the human condition and the realm of human possibilities.

Yet human history can be looked at in many different ways. We can - to take but two contrasting approaches - see it, on the one hand, as essentially a grim record of the big and the strong attempting to dominate those who are smaller and weaker, in obedience perhaps to what Aristotle saw as the principle of rule and subordination that exists everywhere in nature.⁸⁷ Or, on the other hand, taking a very different, positive view, we may see human history as broadly the story of individuals and groups trying to solve problems - be they ethical, political, social or scientific.

Of all animals, only humans control both their environment and their development, and only we can be held morally accountable for our actions. We may travel in space, split the atom and watch the Olympic Games beamed by satellite, simultaneously and instantaneously, to every part of the globe; yet still we have widespread slavery, racial discrimination, starvation and injustice. These are contradictions which are inherent in our existence on this planet, and no single historical event has, I believe, the power to draw them into sharper focus than the Nazi Holocaust.

The unparalleled catastrophe that overwhelmed the Jews of Europe during the period

1941-45 can now be said to constitute not only one of the most horrendous, but arguably one of the most significant, events of modern world history. The Holocaust [or, as it is known in Hebrew, the 'Shoah']⁸⁸ is no longer reduced - as did the eminent English historian AJP Taylor - to the status of footnote to the second world war, its 'explanation' lying merely in the barbarity to which man had been reduced by the extremities of international warfare and national emergency; nor is it explained away by a variety of simple, one-dimensional theories (e.g. the Holocaust was just an extreme example of human prejudice; or it was essentially the product of 'scapegoating'⁸⁹ or - most fatuous of all - of something peculiarly and ideologically 'German').⁹⁰

Rather, it is now seen as a complex subject with its own distinctive history and internal 'logic'; above all, it is an historical event that seems to issue the most terrifying warnings to us all about the darker side of our own nature and of the societies we have created; and, in particular, the dangers inherent in our modern political systems, our technological inventiveness and our bureaucratic processes.⁹¹ These were some of the crucial universal implications of the Holocaust that my work would set out to uncover and consider.

The Holocaust has now, in effect, become a central reference point for humanity as we look forwards with hope into the new millennium, while at the same time throwing a backward and furtive glance - in fear, guilt and shame - at the blood-drenched century we are leaving behind; a twentieth century from which we should like, perhaps, to learn some lessons. If we are to have a future, the Holocaust seems to tell us, we must surely remember, not run away from, our past.

But it was not always so. For almost twenty years after the war, historians, educationalists and philosophers maintained an eerie, if reverential, silence on the subject, especially its moral and historical significance. It was the trial in 1961 of former SS bureaucrat Adolf Eichmann, one of the principal architects of the 'Final Solution' - a trial held controversially in Israel and very much a 'show' trial designed to educate the Israeli public - that represented a watershed in our consciousness of the educational importance of this event.⁹² This was followed soon afterwards by, first, the Cuban Missile Crisis, during which the world seemed to be teetering on the brink of nuclear catastrophe, and then by the assassination of John F. Kennedy, another epoch-marking event which struck such a chord of emotion and insecurity.

It was these events, coming so close together, that seemed to awaken a serious and hitherto - for the most part - repressed interest in the subject of the Holocaust - a trend that has grown appreciably in the ensuing decades. For since the mid-1960s, it has been the immediate present, with all its unsettled problems, that has contributed to the burgeoning interest in the Nazi onslaught: Vietnam, Biafra, various Middle East wars, Cambodia, Lebanon, unresolved economic crises, 'Third World' starvation, growing alarm about the planet's future, threatened by the twin dangers of ecological and intercontinental ballistic nuclear annihilation (the MAD weapons of Mutually Assured Destruction) and an increasing awareness throughout the 1970s and 80s of the curse of powerlessness that afflicts so many groups and individuals in today's society. All of these concerns can be related, and have been related, to the Holocaust; which has become, to some, almost a frame of reference, conscious or unconscious, and at times, it must be said, a somewhat misunderstood, overused and superficial one at that.⁹³

In short, more than fifty years after the defeat of Nazi Germany, one can say with assurance that the sense of awe that surrounds the Holocaust may still be there - well, generally so - but no longer the silence.

And yet there seems no other topic so emotive, so bursting at the seams with contradictory and disturbed passions, with political and spiritual conflicts, with guilt, accusations and the perhaps inevitable descent into defensiveness, apologetics and self-obsession.

One crucial consideration, therefore, that informed my approach to the subject was as follows: that to teach the Holocaust responsibly involves a whole series of delicate balancing acts [N.B. see accompanying chart, Appendix A, p. 78, which I originally designed for teachers as an accompaniment to training seminars at the Spiro Institute, devised during the mid-1980s]. So appalling and highly-charged a subject as this has, perhaps inescapably, generated a powerful and, at times, extremist literature, requiring the reader to pick his or her way through a veritable minefield of different views and, often, emotional perspectives.⁹⁴ The Holocaust has at times even been hijacked by various groups, each with their own subjective ideological, political or educational preference. It is indeed difficult to conceive of any subject that has been quite so regularly misunderstood, misused and misrepresented by those who may be historians, educators, politicians, philosophers and communal leaders. At times, both teacher and student will have to tread a path between polar opposite views, recognising that both positions may contain merit but that neither conveys a wholly accurate truth.

This places a special responsibility on the shoulders of those charged with the task of transmitting memory of this event from generation to generation, and of conveying its impact and most compellingly relevant lessons. This will often take the form of encouraging students to ask - rather than necessarily answer - the most important questions raised by this subject. Indeed, how to pose the right questions would be one of the central motifs running through my book.⁹⁵

b. Continuing Relevance of the Holocaust

In my work, especially in the last section of its final chapter, I stress the relevance of so many of its central themes - particularly those relating to the political, historical and psychological frameworks within which the crime of genocide may be perpetrated and tolerated by the international community.⁹⁶ I also express concern that the memory of these terrible wartime events is likely to grow dimmer both with the passage of time and given the new world order engendered by the collapse of the Soviet Empire, the end of the Cold War and the consequent transformation of the geopolitical legacy of the defeat of Nazism. Since my book appeared, the horrors in European Bosnia, and elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia, have made clear just how germane are the messages and warnings our memory of the Holocaust can deliver, if only its universal implications are grasped.⁹⁷

The Holocaust occurred long before most of us were born, and perhaps many of us have been tempted, when contemplating this event, to pass judgement on the 'passive' behaviour of our parents' and grandparents' generation. It was - and is - of course, easy and eminently satisfying for us to adopt this morally superior stance; for it allows us to put a distance between ourselves and this gruesome historical tale; we can

imagine - as if we were watching a 'western' - that, gripping and fascinating though the storyline is, it has precious little to do with us.

Yet, within the past few years, while most of *us* sat idly by, many hundreds of thousands of civilians in the former Yugoslavia - in a European country where many of us had our vacations booked only a few short summers ago - have had their civil, national and human rights trampled under foot, have been forcibly displaced and, in countless cases, raped, tortured and murdered. Our governments and other agencies failed to make an effective intervention until it was too late. What was essentially a savage war of national aggression and 'genocide' was dignified and softened by the term 'civil war', a curious juxtaposition of words (war is never 'civil') intended to excuse our inaction - to the everlasting shame of our political leaders and of those of us old enough to vote or write letters to our newspapers and politicians.

That an international war crimes tribunal has been established to investigate and bring to justice those held responsible for 'war crimes' and 'crimes against humanity' in the former Yugoslavia was certainly a welcome development. It may even prove to have far-reaching implications for the future, especially the future safety, of minority groups.⁹⁸ But if it is to do more than merely make us feel better - a kind of happy Hollywood ending to the grimmest of stories - and have the desired preventive and educational effect, it would be as well to examine the mistakes of the past fifty years: in particular, the consistent unwillingness and apparent inability of the member-states of the United Nations to intervene in the 'sovereign affairs' of one of their own number; and their consequent failure to invoke - even once - the United Nations Genocide Convention of 1948. For man-made catastrophes *since* the Second World

War have by no means been limited - despite the previous experience of the Nazi Holocaust - to events in European Bosnia.⁹⁹

c) The Holocaust as 'Human' Event (as a Tale of Humanity)

We are living out the last years of a century of unspeakable genocide. Though it has recently been fashionable to term it 'ethnic cleansing', whichever word is used, it is the same crime - that of genocide - which is continuing to disfigure the planet, and it should be the duty of any teacher - and arguably student - of the Holocaust to attempt to understand why it occurs and how it can, in the future, be prevented. Serious educational courses on the Holocaust, therefore, as well as investigating the specific historical event, should also aim to help students comprehend the carnage in Bosnia and Rwanda. This can and, I would argue, should, be done without in any way diluting the integrity and unique qualities of the Holocaust.

Nothing is less likely to facilitate such a grasp than the tendency to dehumanise Hitler, Nazism and the crime itself as evils which somehow lie beyond the range of our human perception and our understanding. Such 'demonisation' - as it has been called - is, of course, reminiscent of the medieval view of the Devil as the source of all evil - a remote and extraneous entity over which we humans exercise no control. This demonisation leads to an obsession with evil as a purely external force, preventing us from searching for it inside ourselves and, most significantly, within the societies, technological systems and bureaucratic structures we have created.

The German perpetrators (and their non-German accomplices) were human beings, operating in human society and, to that extent, there must be a universal and humanly

graspable explanation, however improbable and repellent, of their sentiments and of their behaviour. Such an approach would be none the worse for operating across cultural and across national boundaries. If there are any lessons to be derived from the Holocaust, there is no sense whatever in attributing its execution to Satanic monsters: for then it becomes irrelevant to what is humanly intelligible. What is more, such an interpretation of Nazism would involve an abstract dehumanisation of Nazis - and often indiscriminately of all Germans - which was precisely the Nazi attitude towards Jews.

An excellent example of how to avoid this pitfall and how to achieve something that is of genuine educational value is Gitta Sereny's recent book, *Albert Speer. His Battle With Truth*¹⁰⁰. For this work succeeds in making the Nazi leadership come alive as human beings, inviting not sympathy and identity (as one foolish critic wrote) but a rare glimpse into, and the beginning of an understanding of, the *human* face of 'evil'. The attempt to describe the Holocaust and, by extension, much of the history of antisemitism as the products of something quintessentially and demonically 'German' is not only alarmingly wide of the mark in terms of its grasp of European and Jewish history but, more to the point, is *educationally* misguided and even quite damaging. [A case in point is the Goldhagen book which I have already considered (pp. 19-22).]¹⁰¹

As a corollary to this, those of us who are Jewish should, when contemplating the Holocaust, resist our inclination - understandable, perhaps, in the face of the enormity of the trauma suffered - to see only 'Jewish' lessons and implications, and to enter some sort of exclusive Jewish claim to the event (and by extension to all 'real' genocide). What has sometimes followed - and this is deeply regrettable, and invariably has the unhelpful effect of alienating and, of course, exempting those outside the victim group - is a grotesque competition in suffering.

d. The Holocaust Related to Other Events and Human Experiences

There is another damaging perspective besides the demonising of the perpetrators, and the banalising of the universal. There are those who deny the Holocaust's comparability - or interconnectedness - with any other phenomenon, event or human predicament and talk only of its unparalleled uniqueness.¹⁰² Such an uncompromising approach, while intellectually perhaps quite seductive, seems to me to be an educational non-starter, since it would effectively lift the subject out of the realm of humanly intelligible reality. In my book, I therefore argue that, without losing sight of the incomparable uniqueness of the Holocaust as an entire event, it is educationally essential and, therefore, legitimate to break it down into a range of specific human encounters, dilemmas and experiences, with which it might be easier to identify and which can even stand limited comparison with other predicaments and historical episodes. Understanding the Holocaust is - like all good education - ultimately about the making of *connections*.

My work offers a number of important examples of analogous situations, to which others may be added: the legal assault launched by the Nazi state against the Jews of Germany, during the period 1933-39, which foreshadowed and paved the way for the annihilation which followed, can be related to attempts by some other societies to marginalise and exclude whole groups by *process of law* - for instance, the operation of Apartheid in South Africa (which did not, as we now know, lead historically to genocide but which always had the potential to do so).

The utter *senselessness* of the annihilation of Jews, provoked by the imagined threat they posed to German civilization, evokes memories of the Armenian genocide at the

hands of the Turks in 1915, a tragedy which was also enacted against the camouflage of a world war. This set a horrifying precedent of genocide and world indifference that seemed to convince Hitler, for one, that the international community would always be prepared to turn the other way and consign even the worst atrocities to oblivion.¹⁰³

The sheer *powerlessness, choicelessness and isolation* of the Jewish victims of Nazi terror anticipates, to some degree, the similar condition of the cowed and bemused victims of the systematic massacre of the Cambodian people in the mid-1970s.

The *self-righteousness* of many of the Nazi perpetrators - the prevalent belief in the correctness and 'holiness' of their bloodthirsty undertaking - can be related to almost every massacre in human history that has been carried out in the name of a religious or imperial mission, e.g. the murderous behaviour, over many centuries, of the Christian Spanish and their descendants in parts of South America; or, indeed, the racist attitude, under an anti-Communist banner, of some Americans towards the Vietnamese people - both civilians and their 'legitimate' enemy - during the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁰⁴

Most critically, the *indifference* of the silent majority to the misery and suffering of others can be related to that indifference, of which most of us are guilty most of the time, to the misery and suffering of others - not merely in distant parts of the globe but also in our own countries, towns, neighbourhoods and schools.¹⁰⁵

And, finally - staying within the Nazi period itself - while Nazi attitudes and intentions towards literally millions of representatives of other victim groups - Gypsies, socialists,

homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, prisoners-of-war, Slavs - were, without question, rather different from their manic, no-exceptions view of their 'Satanic' Jewish 'enemy', if we were merely to compare the level of *individual suffering*, it would be difficult to sustain the argument that there was a real difference.

These partial analogies are not, of course, exact, but they may be explored; superficial comparisons are undesirable, but so is the refusal to allow any comparison. As Charles Maier puts it, 'To compare two events does not entail that one causes the other ... it does not assert identity, it does not deny unique components'.¹⁰⁶ If, on the other hand, the Holocaust is cordoned off entirely from all other subjects, from the rest of human experience, and even from other people's experiences during the second world war, it will become inaccessible - an impossibly grim and remote area of study enacted in an educationally meaningless vacuum.¹⁰⁷

5. EDUCATIONAL CONCEPTION AND APPROACH

My work was intended for use by academics, teachers, undergraduate and senior secondary school students, for the general interested reader and, indeed, for anyone seriously engaged in the educational process. It was designed as a cross-disciplinary work - the Holocaust being a cross-disciplinary theme par excellence - for those teaching or studying this challenging subject at a variety of levels and in fields as diverse as history, psychology, anthropology, literature, humanities, theology, sociology and moral philosophy.

The Nazi Holocaust sought to address the needs and frustrations of those engaged in the educational process; consequently, many teachers and lecturers were consulted and interviewed while the work was being prepared [for details of survey of teachers' views, see above, pp. 16-17]. The underlying educational principles on which the book's overall philosophy and approach would eventually be built, and which would critically inform and determine the order and arrangement of its various sections and chapters, are, to some extent, therefore, a response to a whole range of different professional opinions and perspectives on this subject.¹⁰⁸ What emerged with almost audible insistence from the educators interviewed was the desire for a balanced approach, which avoided, as far as possible, the extreme, subjective positions so often adopted by writers on such an emotive topic.

Many teachers expressed their anxieties about so-called 'revisionist' writings and political activities (outside schools, at football grounds, rock concerts, etc). It is certainly undeniable that, in the hands of a few truly malevolent individuals, the subject

of the Holocaust has been drawn into the spotlight purely so that its truthfulness can be manipulated and denied.¹⁰⁹ As I state in the introductory chapter to my book, far from constituting a serious analysis of the Holocaust, such 'revisionist' history serves more as an example of the kind of twisted thinking that actually contributed to the Nazi horrors in the first place. With reference to such 'historians', Michael Marrus has written with appropriate contempt in the preface to his work, *The Holocaust in History*: "I see no reason why such people should set the agenda for the subject, any more than flat-earth theorists should set the agenda for astronomers"!¹¹⁰

My own approach, while preparing my book and weighing the views of the teachers who responded along these lines, was [and still is] that the most effective ways of countering the potentially harmful influence of Holocaust deniers, downplayers - and other assorted categories within the 'revisionist' spectrum - are to keep in mind the following: that care should be taken not to dignify their opinions, accusations and assertions with too many explicit acknowledgements or references (any more than Marrus' aforementioned 'flat-earth theorists' are allowed to set *his* agenda): in other words, it is quite unnecessary and probably counter-productive to write a book, teach a class, or deliver a lecture with the express purpose of refuting their work; a corollary of this is that every serious word that *is* written or uttered on this subject is implicitly working counter to the revisionists' aims and desires. In short, while we should keep the problem posed by the revisionists at the forefront of our consciousness, we should guard against exaggerating its significance - thus often providing the very publicity they seek - recognising that there is usually a difference between the scholastic and the political arenas (they may overlap, but they are rarely identical).

The teachers interviewed were virtually unanimous that Jewish history in general and the Holocaust in particular must be taught in order to combat racial prejudice and the abuse of power. To fulfil this goal it was felt that, ideally, the Holocaust should not be torn from its historical and wider educational contexts - as so regularly happens - even if time is limited.

The Nazi Holocaust sought to represent an enlightened, accessible, effective and badly needed approach to understanding and preserving the memory of the Holocaust, and to transmitting its most salient messages for all humanity. Partly in response to the stated preferences of the teachers, whose views were gauged from their replies to the questionnaire, the work was built on the philosophical and educational assumptions which are clearly outlined in the opening chapter and which, as I state explicitly, I feel can be adapted to the needs of most humanities subjects and to different educational settings.¹¹¹

The attempt to come to terms with this historical event - and to grapple, whether as student or as teacher, with its most important messages - is an extremely difficult, not to say intimidating task. Despite the growth of a virtual Holocaust literary industry - at times it seems we have reached 'information overload' (allegedly producing a kind of 'Holocaust fatigue') - there is still no consensus, even on centrally important issues, among historians, psychologists, educationists, theologians and philosophers. On many of the open-ended questions this topic throws up, no adequate or simple explanation is possible or, indeed, desirable. I therefore emphasize the central need, in Holocaust education, for the formulation of questions rather than the provision of hard-and-fast answers. As I argue, there are occasions - arguably many occasions - when we should

merely try to identify the right questions and then work towards the possible answers and lessons to be inferred.

Such key questions are made explicit in the opening chapter to my book, and are explored in many of the chapters that follow. These questions reflect many of the historiographical tensions and debates within the literature itself.¹¹²

The choice and arrangement of the book's individual parts and chapters reflect, in large measure, its underlying educational and philosophical principles [outlined in the introductory chapter, p. 12]. The emphasis, both explicit and implicit, is on contextualisation, which - among several other objectives - is designed, for example, to encourage a broad and balanced view of the Jewish experience in history, in preference to a narrow and excessively negative image.¹¹³ The historical core of the book dealing with the Hitler years (Part Two: chapters five, six and seven) are sandwiched within the historical and educational thematic contexts provided respectively by Parts One (chapters two, three and four) and Three (chapters eight, nine and ten).

The educational rationale behind the order and division of the chapters, and behind the three further educational motifs that run through much of the book, is set out clearly and at length in chapter one [pp. 13-15].¹¹⁴ An appreciation of this explanation is, I feel, critical to a clear understanding of my historical and overall conceptual approach to the subject.

6. THE LIMITATIONS OF THE WORK AND THE CANDIDATE'S DEVELOPMENT AS A RESEARCHER

a. Limitations of Work

Some of the limitations of my work are obvious and, arguably, inescapable: the Holocaust is a mammoth, almost boundless territory, and my book does not, and cannot, stand on its own as an all-inclusive treatment of the subject. Its aims - by no means unambitious - are to hold up an educational lantern, and to raise and examine, in that light, the key issues confronting those who wish to make some sense of a catastrophic event in the fall-out of which we all still live.

By placing it inside several different historical and educationally thematic contexts, space has inevitably been sacrificed which might otherwise have been devoted, say, to a detailed country-by-country narrative, or to a more extensive treatment of its historical antecedents: for example, a more elaborate treatment of the history of Christian-Jewish relations during the medieval period and how to teach them; or of the growth of Pan-Germanic, supremacist theorising during the late nineteenth century. These are clear limitations which derive both from self-imposed constraints and from the sheer enormity of the subject. However, some of the limitations from which it suffers, I would argue, are precisely what gives it its educational strength: it clearly cannot and does not claim to be, for example, an original historical, sociological or psychological dissertation; rather, it has opted to provide a fresh conceptual overview and mediating synthesis of the existing literature and contemporary historiographical theses and debates, tempering all with a prioritisation of what is considered educationally possible, desirable and effective. Such considerations are based on an original set of educational and philosophical premises which themselves emanate both

from the author's experience (as teacher and teacher trainer) and from the historiographical dilemmas and complexities inherent within both the subject itself and the prodigious literature that it has spawned.

There are, however, two specific limitations, which, if I could tackle the work again, I would seek to address. The first - which I feel I have already dealt with, at some length - concerns the degree of prominence which is given to other cases of genocide and the intellectually precarious, but educationally profitable, need to offer some comparative framework, however tentative. Although my work has, as has already been mentioned, a discernible and calculated thread running throughout, which relates and links the Holocaust with other instances of man-made genocidal catastrophe, I believe it should have been given greater and more explicit emphasis - an entire chapter, in fact; not separated from the rest or tacked on to the end like some cosmetic and politically correct afterthought, but located in the very heart of the work.

Fortunately, that is a limitation that I can put to rights fairly soon: in my next work (commissioned by Routledge) I shall be including a 15,000-word section on the distressing subject of 'genocide in the modern age'. It will, all too briefly, chronicle the incidence - by no means exhaustive - of mass destruction of specific groups during the past two hundred years, with special attention being paid to the horrors of the twentieth century. Nine case studies of alleged 'genocide' will be included:

a) Tasmanian Aborigines at the hands of the British; b) Armenians at the hands of the Turks; c) 'Kulaks' at the hands of Stalin's regime; d) Gypsies at the hands of the Nazis; e) the Hutu of Burundi; f) Bengalis before and during the Bangladeshi War of Independence; g) Ache Amerindians at the hands of the Paraguayan military; h) the

Cambodian 'auto-genocide'; and i) the East Timorese islanders at the hands of the Indonesian government.¹¹⁵

The second limitation of my work - which, again, I shall seek to address in my new book - is much more specific, and concerns the ideological relationship between the Nazi Holocaust (of the Jews) and the Nazi government's 'euthanasia' (sic) and anti-Gypsy programmes. I should like here to link a critique of this shortcoming in my own work to the publication, in 1995, of Henry Friedlander's outstanding work, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: from Euthanasia to the Final Solution*.¹¹⁶

Friedlander's work is a stimulating challenge to all who insist on the utter separateness of the Jewish question in Nazi ideology and policy. The so-called 'euthanasia' programme - the cold-blooded murder, that is, of up to 100,000 of the mentally and physically disabled and certain criminal and other 'asocial' categories during the first two years of the war - has, until now, generally been seen as the precursor to the Final Solution. For it afforded the Nazis the opportunity to practise techniques of mass killing by lethal injection and gassing which they would later refine and perfect into a production-line process of industrialised slaughter. It has also been linked to the Holocaust because many of the functionaries originally employed in the euthanasia clinics (like Franz Stangl, later Commandant of Sobibor and Treblinka) were transferred to the anti-Soviet and anti-Jewish operations, once the euthanasia programme had officially been forced out of business.

Enthusiasts of the notion of the unparalleled singularity and hence incomparable uniqueness of the Jewish Holocaust have pointed out the contrast between the

effectiveness of voices raised in protest at the euthanasia killings and the deafening silence that greeted the anti-Jewish persecutions, ghettoisation and, ultimately, extermination. There is also, in the case of the euthanasia programme, a written order signed by Hitler in October 1939 (but backdated to 1 September 1939 to coincide with the beginning of the war), whereas, of course, no such written order has ever been discovered about the planned annihilation of European Jewry: so important, unprecedented and, above all perhaps, secret was it to be.

Friedlander argues that the 'mercy killings' - which were anything but - belong intrinsically to the same organic ideological framework which included the genocidal onslaught against Jews *and* Gypsies. This work is more deeply iconoclastic than perhaps even its author intended. Far from reinforcing conceptions of the distinctiveness of Nazi intentions towards the Jews, the pre-eminence of Judeophobia and the centrality of the Jewish question to Hitler's *weltanschauung*, to the Nazi Party's self-understanding and to Nazi Germany's domestic and foreign agendas, Friedlander asserts that the contempt and hatred for the Jew was part of something larger than itself: it is part - an admittedly significant part - of a biological view of human worth (or rather worthlessness) that excluded *on equal terms* essentially three groups: Jews, Gypsies and 'life unworthy of life' - the mentally and physically disabled, the weak and 'inferior' 'asocials' destined for the euthanasia clinics.¹¹⁷

All three target groups, Friedlander contends, were consistently and programmatically excluded. There were obviously *more* Jews to be removed from society and this, the author implies, rather explains the greater and more systematic attention their elimination would receive. The Holocaust would therefore only be the most radical

expression of the eugenicist belief that German society could be improved by the forcible cleansing from the gene pool of 'undesirable' elements.

It is perhaps true to say that Friedlander's work is not strictly about the Holocaust; it is far more a detailed investigation into the euthanasia programme and to a lesser, but no less worthy extent, into the appalling genocide against the Gypsies - both badly neglected in works dealing with Nazi extermination strategy in general and 'the Final Solution' in particular.¹¹⁸ And, without question, my own work would have benefited immeasurably had the results of his research been available while I was preparing it. [All of my future publications will, however, be the richer for having absorbed his ideas.]

However, on a slightly critical note, despite my genuine appreciation of the contribution Friedlander's work makes, it does appear - as a thesis which, at its climax, does try to say important things about the Jewish catastrophe - to suffer from a weak(ish) grasp of the sheer complexity and multi-sourced provenance of Nazi Jew-hatred. For the genesis and full scope of Nazi anti-Jewish ideology cannot be explained merely in terms of its falling neatly under the category of Social Darwinism and its offspring, the twentieth-century eugenics movement. Friedlander has, to be sure, performed an invaluable service in linking the Holocaust to other expressions of Nazi genocidal policy. But Friedlander is, in my view, overcompensating for the palpable failure by mainstream Holocaust historians (especially Israeli historians) to deal adequately, if at all, with the eugenicist dimension of Hitler's antipathy towards Jewry and other victim groups [I must, again, express a *mea culpa* in this respect]. For that antagonism was not merely the product of the biological contempt for 'asocial', 'criminal' and

'degenerate' groups, but was spawned also by earlier - even originally medieval and theologically motivated - anti-Judaic, Judeophobic and, later, antisemitic dispositions which cast the Jew as powerful, dangerous, demonic and conspiratorial. There is, to take an obvious example, no equivalent of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion - nor of any other sophisticated instance of the intellectualisation and politicisation of modern, racial, antisemitic thought - that deals with Gypsies or the mentally and physically disabled.

There are doubtless those who will see Friedlander's work as a partial denial of the Holocaust, on the grounds that it seeks to dilute the Holocaust's strength and uniqueness by relativising its ideological starting-point. Notwithstanding my own reservations and criticisms of some of its conclusions, let us hope that those who regard the 'truths' of the Holocaust as set in stone - immensely satisfying to their sometimes narrow political and ideological agendas, or because, like most people, they prefer a comparatively simple and unchallengeable explanation of the world - do not respond in a knee-jerk, antagonistic fashion to Friedlander's challenging work - as they did to Arno Mayer's provocative *Why Did the Heavens not Darken?*, which in a very different way also departed from orthodox interpretations.¹¹⁹

In reality - and this has been my purpose in devoting space here to a consideration of Friedlander's work - our understanding of the Holocaust and its lessons can only be strengthened, not weakened, when it is connected and related - responsibly - to the rest of human experience; when it is sensitively linked to, rather than cordoned off from, the suffering of others.

b. Candidate's Development as Researcher and Writer

It would be no exaggeration to say that, by the end of the period of research, in terms of my appreciation of the different demands and components of a major research project and in terms of my developing ability as a writer, I was a changed person.

Before embarking on this project, my experience of researching and writing had been principally confined to producing short review articles, the occasional slightly longer educational piece and - more significantly - a 19-unit correspondence course in modern Jewish history. The production of these articles and even - to some extent - the correspondence course had frankly required little formal discipline or research; they were sometimes little more than 'off-the-top-of-my-head' pieces, rooted more in my experience of, and intuitive feel for, a subject than in painstaking scrutiny of sources and resources.

My research for the book would not only bring me into contact with a relatively new world, comprising many different kinds of archival resource - museums, libraries, living witnesses, art galleries, film institutes, etc. - but would oblige me to ask searching questions of the material I was examining and sifting, whether primary or secondary source: why, when, where, how was it produced? And with what motive, conscious or unconscious? Given the unusually emotive nature of the subject, I would quickly have to learn to differentiate between, on the one hand, opinion, bias and ideologically driven prejudice, and, on the other, something approximating more closely to objective fact and reality. This was particularly important in the light of one undeniable truth: recording and perpetuating the memory of the Holocaust has, until now, been a task that has been left principally to those who have a sense of belonging,

however tenuous and however expressed - be it religious, cultural, national, 'ethnic', psychological or 'cardiac'¹²⁰ - to the 'Jewish' people. In other words, the history of the Holocaust - its literature and scholarship - is very much a victims' history, and an understandably passionate and, at times, angry one, at that.

In conclusion, it is satisfying to report that the aftermath to the publication of my work has so far proved immensely encouraging. My claim to originality and to meeting a manifest educational need appears to have been borne out: the book has been well received as an innovative contribution to the field, both critically - by academic, educational and literary reviewers alike - and within the educational systems and markets at which it was principally directed. The work was shortlisted for the Jewish Quarterly's Book Prize (non-fiction category), and it is now used quite widely in schools and universities in Britain and the United States.

NOTES

1. That there are many different ways of 'remembering' and 'memorialising' the Holocaust is best explored in James Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (Yale University Press, 1993), and Monica Bohm-Duchen (ed.) *After Auschwitz: Responses to the Holocaust in Contemporary Art* (Northern Centre for Contemporary Art, Sunderland, in association with Lund Humphries, 1995).
2. This 'gap' in materials available for teachers was revealed in a survey I conducted under the auspices of the British Holocaust Education Project (1989), for brief details of which see pp. 18-19 of this context statement). That there were no really suitable materials for teachers is also alluded to in the introduction to Carrie Supple's, *From Prejudice to Genocide: Learning about the Holocaust* (Trentham Books, 1993).
3. But teachers in England and Wales would have no choice but to teach the Holocaust after 1990/91, when the subject was introduced (after a struggle) into the National Curriculum, originally at Key Stage 4 - it was later moved to Key Stage 3 - of the History curriculum.
4. Examples of over-simplified educational materials would include the leaflets produced by the Yad Vashem Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, the Holocaust curricula produced by several boards of education in the United States (very difficult to obtain and, in any case, unknown to virtually all British teachers), and - to a lesser extent - the booklet created by Yad Vashem Museum in Jerusalem.
5. An interesting examination of the different ways in which the Holocaust has been, and can be, mystified can be found in Yehuda Bauer, *The Holocaust in Historical Perspective* (Sheldon Press, 1978).
6. For the suggested contexts in which the Holocaust should, ideally, be explored see Ronnie S Landau, *The Nazi Holocaust* (IB Tauris, 1992), p. 12.
7. See my remarks on Martin Gilbert's approach to the Holocaust on pp. 22-26 of this context statement, and reviews of Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust: the Jewish Tragedy* (Collins, 1986) by George Steiner (*Sunday Times*, 9 February 1986), Norman Stone (*The Spectator*, 8 February 1986) and Ronnie Landau (*Jewish Quarterly*, Vol 33, No 4 (124), 1986).
8. My analysis, under the auspices of the British Holocaust Education Project (unpublished, 1989), of over 500 randomly chosen works on the Holocaust - drawn from different disciplines and written in the English language - showed that over 93% were written or edited by those who were themselves 'Jewish'. An analysis of works composed in German would certainly have produced quite different results, though.

9. Emil Fackenheim, a leading philosopher and 'theologian' of the Holocaust, typically limits his exploration of the implications and legacy of the Holocaust almost exclusively to the Jewish world. His most important work in this respect is *The Jewish Return to History* (Schocken Books, 1978).
10. A major breakthrough came at the 'Remembering for the Future' conference, held at Oxford University in July 1988, when - *inter alia* - the implications of the Holocaust for all humanity, especially Christian thought and civilisation, were explored in over 300 papers presented by scholars from all over the world and from many different disciplines. I was fortunate not only to attend this conference, but to be invited by the conference organisers to select and edit, in a single volume, 25 papers from the conference proceedings. The proceedings themselves were comprehensively recorded in the three camera-ready volumes, *Remembering for the Future* (Pergamon Press, 1988).
11. In the mid-1980s, I produced a chart for teachers representing the major dilemmas and considerations in teaching the Holocaust in terms of the dialectic tension between opposing positions. For this chart, please see Appendix A., p. 78.
12. For an extreme, particularistic approach, which not only stubbornly insists on the incomparable uniqueness of the Holocaust as the *only* [sic] genocide worthy of the name, but expends a remarkable amount of energy downgrading and diminishing just about everybody else's suffering (an **educationally** self-defeating approach in the extreme!), see Steven T. Katz, *The Holocaust in Historical Perspective* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1993).
13. For an extreme universalistic approach, see *Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behaviour Resource Book* (Facing History and Ourselves, 1994) and other materials produced by that pioneering Boston-based educational organisation.
14. IB Tauris is an academic publishing house [tipped by The Observer to be **the** academic publisher of the 90s!] which specialises in the fields of contemporary history and politics; its particular focus is the Middle East in general, and Iran and the Islamic world in particular.
15. Ivan R Dee's publishing list has broadly similar preoccupations with the historical and political realms, though it is appreciably wider in its cross-cultural and disciplinary range.
16. Between 1971 and 1973 I was Head of the Classics Department at Paddington and Maida Vale High School, a girls' grammar school and, between 1973 and 1981, English and Classics master at University College Senior School, an independent boys' school in Hampstead.
17. The Spiro Institute is a trailblazing educational organisation, based at what was London University's Westfield College (now King's College) in Hampstead, which offered courses in modern Jewish history to school, university and adult students. In 1979, an

embryonic Spiro Institute devised an A0 level in modern Jewish history with the Oxford and Cambridge Examinations Board. There I designed and wrote a 19-part correspondence course in modern Jewish history, and I also led a great many teacher-training seminars, which explored different ways of teaching the Holocaust.

18. The British Holocaust Education Project was a fixed-term two-year project (1989-91) which I founded, raised funds for, and directed. Under the auspices of this project, I conducted a survey of teachers' views (see pp. 16-17) to which my book would - to some extent - be a response, and conducted seminars for teachers.

19. The schools which sent delegates to these seminars represented a broad cross-section of English secondary schools, from both the maintained and independent sectors, and sixth-form colleges.

20. From Landau, *op. cit.*, Author's Preface, p.ix.

21. The Holocaust is often torn from its historical context and studied, as it were, in an educational and historical vacuum. In Jewish educational circles, for example, it would be very rare, indeed, for the overall German historical situation to be considered. Similarly, within a general educational framework, it would be equally rare for the Jewish historical context to be mentioned, let alone examined in depth. In neither scenario would anything approximating to justice be done to the context of modern genocide. Such decontextualisation is generally mirrored in the educational and scholarly literature.

22. David Cesarani gives voice to just this complaint (i.e. academic gobbledegook in Holocaust scholarship) in a review article on what was then the latest of Martin Gilbert's works in the *Jewish Chronicle*, (1 September 1989). [N.B. Cesarani was not directing that criticism at Gilbert.]

That the mainstream Jewish establishment seemed to me to be locked into a somewhat narrow, parochial and self-obsessed understanding of the lessons and meaning of the Holocaust was an important spur to my efforts to underscore the universal dimension, too.

23. Lucy Dawidowicz, in her otherwise disappointing work, *The Holocaust and the Historians* (Harvard University Press 1981), does at least draw attention to the earlier trend - particularly noticeable among distinguished English historians (of the old school) like A.J.P Taylor [*The Course of German History* (Capricorn Books, 1962) and *The Origins of the Second World War*, (Atheneum, 1964)] and H.R. Trevor-Roper [*The Last Days of Hitler* (Collier Macmillan, 1962)] - to dismiss the Jewish question and even the Holocaust itself as rather insignificant footnotes to the history of Nazism and the second world war.

24. I tracked down, as part of my research in November 1989, what at the time was a more-or-less complete collection of Holocaust curricula - from various boards of education within the United States - at the B'nai B'rith Anti-defamation League's offices in New York City.

25. The Hollywood film industry, after maintaining a silence for many years (the first feature film to depict the Holocaust was *The Pawnbroker* (1961), starring Rod Steiger) has, in recent years, offered - among several others - : *Sophie's Choice*, the multiple oscar-winning '*Schindler's List*'; *Escape From Sobibor*, (which came very close to causing offence) and *Triumph of the Spirit* (which did).

The best examination of the treatment by Hollywood of the Holocaust is still Annette Insdorf, *Indelible Shadows: Film and the Holocaust* (Cambridge University Press, 1984), while for a fascinating treatment of the impact of the Holocaust on postwar culture, see Saul Friedlander, "On the Representation of the Shoah in Present-Day Western Culture", *Remembering for the Future* (Pergamon Press, 1989), Volume 3, pp. 3092-3101.

26. For a particularly well-argued and insightful consideration of the teaching of the Holocaust as a vehicle for good citizenship, see Geoffrey Short, "Holocaust Education and Citizenship" (unpublished manuscript, University of Hertfordshire, 1996 - forthcoming publication: publication details not yet available).

On a related educational theme, see the following articles, also by Geoffrey Short: "Teaching about the Holocaust: a Consideration of some Ethical and Pedagogic Issues" in *Educational Studies*, 20 (1) 1994a, pp. 53-68, and "The Holocaust in the National Curriculum: a Survey of Teachers' Attitudes and Practices", *Journal of Holocaust Education*, Volume 4, Winter 1995, Number 2, pp. 167-188.

27. Ignorance, arrogance, methodological ineptitude, dangerous superficiality and downright prejudice are just some of the shortcomings identified among teachers of the Holocaust by: a) Lucy Dawidowicz in "How they Teach the Holocaust", *Commentary*, Vol. 90 No 6 (1990). pp 25-31; b) Carrie Supple in "The Teaching of the Nazi Holocaust in North Tyneside, Newcastle and Northumberland Secondary Schools" (unpublished manuscript, School of Education, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1992; and c) Karen Shawn in "Current Issues in Holocaust Education", *Dimensions: a Journal of Holocaust Studies*, Volume 9, Number 2, pp. 15-18.

28. Matthew Reisz in the *Times Educational Supplement* (8 January, 1993), p. 10.

29. Clive King in *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, Volume 4, Winter 1995, Number 2, pp. 232-233.

30. Emma Klein in *The Tablet* (24 July 1993), pp. 948-949.

31. Such sentiments also appear in separate letters, commending the originality of *The Nazi Holocaust*, which were sent by Iradj Bagherzade, IB Tauris' Managing Director, to Steven Spielberg, Lord Bullock and Thomas Kenneally respectively.

32. The very subtitle of Martin Gilbert's book *The Holocaust: the Jewish Tragedy* can be seen to betray the book's conceptual weakness.

33. This educational companion will contain - among many other ingredients - conceptual and methodological guidance for teachers of the Holocaust; nine case-studies of other

genocides in the modern age with a suggested framework for relating, if not directly comparing, different genocides; a range of class-based exercises and dramatic readings; and numerous educational questions for reflection, discussion and written response.

34. *Remembering for the Future*, *op. cit.*, 3 Vols.

35. W.R.Borg, *Educational Research: An Introduction* (Longman, 1963), cited and paraphrased by Louis Cohen and Lawrence Manion, *Research Methods in Education* (4th edition, Routledge, 1994).

36. Cohen and Manion, *ibid.*

37. J.E. Hill and A. Kerber, *Models, Methods and Analytical Procedures in Educational Research* (Wayne University Press, 1967).

38. *Ibid.*

39. See Gibson Burrell and Gareth Morgan, *Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis* (Heinemann, 1979), pp. 1-4.

40. For a brief conceptual overview of the different tensions in Holocaust literature, see my chart at the end of this context statement, "Considerations and Dilemmas in Teaching the Holocaust" (Appendix A, p. 78.).

41. Colin Robson, *Real World Research: a Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers* (Blackwell, 1993), pp. 65-66 & 74.

42. J.W. Best, *Research in Education* (Prentice-Hall, 1970).

43. L. Gottschalk, *Understanding History* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1951).

44. R.M.W. Travers, *An Introduction to Educational Research* (Collier Macmillan, 1969).

45. Robson, *op. cit.*.

46. Hill and Kerber, *op. cit.*

47. Borg, *op. cit.*

48. H.C. Hockett, *The Critical Method in Historical Research and Writing* (Macmillan, 1955).

49. L. Stanley and S. Wise, *Breaking Out: Feminist Consciousness and Feminist Research* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), p. 174.

50. David Bankier, "German Society and National Socialist Antisemitism" (unpublished Ph.D thesis, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1983).
51. Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners* (Knopf, 1996).
52. Within a year of its original publication, Goldhagen's work has probably generated more column inches in the world's popular press, thanks to the controversial nature of its conclusions, than has the entire canon of Holocaust literature during the past two decades!
53. See especially: Steven Ascheim's review in *Tikkun* Vol. 11 No 4, 1996; Efraim Zuroff in *The Jerusalem Post* (13 June 1996); Gitta Sereny in *The Times* (28 March 1996); and Hella Pick in *The Guardian* (29 March 1996).
54. A noteworthy and notable exception is Christopher Browning, whose *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (Harper Collins, 1992) does - unlike Goldhagen's work which, in its verbose footnotes, treats Browning's research pretty shabbily - what all really good scholarship should do: it complicates, rather than simplifies, that which is inescapably complex.
55. The whole of Chapter 9 of Landau, (*The Nazi Holocaust*), *op. cit.* explores this most vexed of questions.
56. Stanley's Milgram's experiments into the psychological basis of obedience may have become something of a cliché among Holocaust historians and educators, but is no less important a piece of work for that. See Stanley Milgram, *Obedience to Authority* (Harper & Row, 1974).
57. Just how international a phenomenon antisemitism has been can be readily seen from even the most cursory glance at serious works on the history of antisemitism. Among the very best are: Leon Poliakov, *The History of Antisemitism*, 3 Vols. (Vanguard Press, 1965-76), Robert Wistrich, *Antisemitism - The Longest Hatred* (Thames/Methuen, 1991), and Shmuel Ettinger, *The Origins of Modern Antisemitism* (Yad Vashem, 1973).
58. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Quadrangle Books, 1961).
59. Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (Penguin, 1983).
60. Gitta Sereny, *Into That Darkness: From Mercy Killing to Mass Murder* (Andre Deutsch, 1974).
61. Ian Kershaw, "German Popular Opinion during 'The Final Solution': Information, Comprehension, Reactions" in A. Cohen, J. Gelber and C. Wardi (eds.), *Comprehending the Holocaust* (Peter Lang, 1989); and Ian Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich* (Clarendon Press, 1983).

62. David Bankier, *The Germans and the Final Solution* (Basil Blackwell, 1992).
63. Otto Dov Kulka, "Public Opinion in National Socialist Germany and the Jewish Question", *Zion* (1975, 40).
64. See Jurgen Matthaus, "What about the 'Ordinary Men'? The German Order Police and the Holocaust in the Occupied Soviet Union", *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Vol. 10, Number 2, Fall 1996.
65. Landau, *op. cit.*, p.242.
66. Samuel Pisar, *Of Blood and Hope* (Cassell, 1980).
67. Landau, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-265.
68. Gilbert, *op. cit.*
69. Ronnie Landau, "On Martin Gilbert's Approach to the Holocaust", *Jewish Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (124), 1986, pp. 10-12.
70. Norman Stone's review appeared in *The Spectator* (8 February 1996).
71. George Steiner in *The Sunday Times* (9 February 1996).
72. Conor Cruise O'Brien in *The Observer* (16 February 1996).
73. See, for example, the glowing reviews in the *Jewish Chronicle* and *Jewish Gazette*.
74. In fairness to Gilbert, in whose debt it must be stressed that all those of us who have been concerned with perpetuating the memory of the Holocaust stand, it was clearly never his intention to target his work at educators. I think this is an important qualification. I expressed my disappointment and dissatisfaction with Gilbert's work in the *Jewish Quarterly* in a harsh review article which, in retrospect, seems to have owed as much to the temerity of youth (*my youth*) as it did to an objective evaluation of his work *on its own terms*.
75. Michael Marrus, *The Holocaust in History* (Lester Orpyn Dennis, 1987).
76. *Ibid.*, Preface, p. xiii.
77. Geoffrey Short, "The Holocaust in the National Curriculum: A Survey of Teachers' Attitudes and Practices", *Journal of Holocaust Education*, 4 (2) 1995, pp. 167-188.
 Key Stage 3 (i.e for ages 11-14) is clearly a less appropriate age for students to be exposed to a subject as complex as the Holocaust than at ages 15-16. It was nevertheless moved from the original Key Stage 4 to the lower stage principally because it was felt that

many more students would learn about the subject at a level that was mandatory, rather than at the optional GCSE (Key Stage 4) stage. This decision, though arguably well-intentioned, has created considerable educational difficulties for teachers, not the least of which is an almost unavoidable superficiality.

78. Carrie Supple and I were preparing our manuscripts at more or less the same time. I had offered Supple some conceptual advice during the early stages of her preparation; and I had led various sessions at the Spiro Institute which she attended as student and, in one instance, as co-presenter. We also co-led an interdisciplinary seminar at Newcastle University's Education Faculty for teachers of A level and undergraduate students.

79. Yisrael Gutman and Chaim Schatzker, *The Holocaust and its Significance* (Zalman Shazar Centre, Jerusalem, 1983).

80. Ruth Firer, Ph.D thesis, "The Treatment of the Holocaust in Textbooks in Israeli High Schools" (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1984). This thesis has now been expanded into a published work, *The Treatment of the Holocaust in Textbooks: The Federal Republic of Germany, Israel and the United States* (East European Monographs, USA, 1987).

81. Landau, (*The Nazi Holocaust*), *op. cit.*, pp. 248-255.

82. Lucy Dawidowicz, *The Holocaust and the Historians* (Harvard University Press 1981).

83. Significant Intentionalist works are: Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews* (Penguin, 1975); Gerald Fleming, *Hitler and the Final Solution* (Oxford University Press, 1982); Eberhard Jaeckel, *Hitler's World View: A Blueprint For Power* (Harvard University Press, 1981); and Karl Hildebrand, *The Third Reich* (Allen & Unwin, 1984).

84. Significant Functionalist works are: Martin Broszat, *The Hitler State* (Longman, 1981); Christopher Browning, *Fateful Months: Essays on the Emergence of the Final Solution* (Holmes & Meier, 1985); and Hans Mommsen, "The Realisation of the Unthinkable: The 'Final Solution of the Jewish Question' in the Third Reich" in Gerhard Hirschfeld (ed.), *The Policies of Genocide: Jews and Soviet Prisoners-of-war in Nazi Germany* (Allen & Unwin, 1986).

For a masterly summary of the *Historikerstreit* debate in Germany, see Irving L. Horowitz, "Hitler, History and the Holocaust", *The Jewish Quarterly*, Vol. 40, Number 2 (150), Summer 1993.

85. Arno Mayer, *Why Did The Heavens Not Darken? The 'Final Solution' in History* (Verso, 1990).

86. For details of the Madagascar Plan and why it was abandoned, see Landau, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-54 & pp. 163-64.

87. Aristotle, *Politics* (many editions).

88. For a brief discussion of the different terms that have been used to describe the 'Holocaust', and their origins, see Landau, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-45.
89. See Emil Fackenheim's provocative dismissal of all monocausal 'explanations' of the Holocaust in his introduction to Yehuda Bauer, *The Jewish Emergence from Powerlessness* (University of Toronto Press, 1979).
90. Goldhagen, *op. cit.*, *passim*!
91. For the Holocaust as the example *par excellence* of the dangers of bureaucracy, see: Richard Rubenstein *The Cunning of History* (Harper Colophon, 1975); Theodor Adorno, *Prisms: Cultural Criticism and Society* (transl. by S & S Weber), Neville Spearman, 1967); and Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Polity Press, 1989. See also Landau, *op. cit.*, Appendix A: 'Euphemisms of Death', pp. 289-90.
92. Contemporary newspaper reports of the Eichmann trial furnished the ordinary populations of many countries across the globe with the first detailed information of the enormity of the Holocaust.
93. For example (one of many possible examples), during the British miners' strike in the early 1980s, both sides to the dispute used grotesque 'Nazi' and 'Auschwitz' imagery and terminology in their speeches in order to discredit their opponents' tactics! Newspaper reports, *passim*.
94. See chart in Appendix A, 'Considerations and Dilemmas in Teaching the Holocaust', p. 78.
95. Landau, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-6.
96. *Ibid.*, pp. 260-265.
97. Ronnie S Landau, "Never Again?" [article on war crimes in Bosnia within context of 20th-century genocide] in *History Today*, Volume 44 [3] March 1994; and Ronnie S Landau, "The Nazi Holocaust: its Moral, Historical and Educational Significance" - [chapter] in Monica Bohm-Duchen (ed.) *After Auschwitz: Responses to the Holocaust in Contemporary Art* (Northern Centre for Contemporary Art, Sunderland, in association with Lund Humphries, 1995).
98. There seems little doubt that the shock and shame of Bosnia has, to some extent, galvanised the international community - under enormous pressure from the liberal sections of their media - to show a greater preparedness (in the short term at any rate) to act swiftly and in a humanitarian fashion, e.g. the *volte face* by John Major over his willingness to lend assistance to Rwandan refugees in East Zaire in November 1996.

99. For a list of alleged genocides since the second world war, see Landau, *op. cit.* pp. 261-263, to which list must be added the genocides in Bosnia, in Rwanda, and that against the Marsh Arabs in southern Iraq. See also Yves Ternon, "Reflections on Genocide" in Gerard Chaliand (ed.) *Minority Peoples in the Age of Nation-states* (Pluto Press, 1989).
100. Gitta Sereny, *Albert Speer: His Battle With Truth* (Macmillan, 1995).
101. Goldhagen, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
102. Katz, *op. cit.*, Fackenheim, (*The Return to Jewish History*) *op. cit.*, Dawidowicz, (*The War Against the Jews*) *op. cit.*, et al.
103. Hitler's awareness that the world had been prepared to turn a blind eye to the Armenian genocide is clear from his reference in a speech delivered to his army chiefs-of-staff on the eve of the invasion of Poland. This critical speech is alluded to in Helen Fein, *Accounting for Genocide* (The Free Press, 1979), p. 4, and cited in Margot Strom and William Parsons, *Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behaviour* (Intentional Educations Inc., 1982), p. 319. See also Robert Melson, "Revolutionary Genocide: On the Causes of the Armenian Genocide of 1915 and the Holocaust" in *Remembering for the Future*, Vol. II (Pergamon Press, 1989).
104. For the contemptuous, dehumanising attitude of members of the United States political and military leadership, not only to the Vietnamese people, but also to their immediate neighbours, see William Shawcross, *Sideshow: Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia* (Fontana, 1979).
105. As Ian Kershaw memorably wrote: "The road to Auschwitz was built by hate but paved with indifference" in *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1983), p. 277.
106. Charles Maier, *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust and German National Identity* (Harvard University Press, 1989).
107. See Lionel Kochan, "Life over Death" in the *Jewish Chronicle* (London, 22 December 1989), in which, adopting an extreme and provocative stance, he challenges the wisdom of teaching the Holocaust at all to school and university students. See also the report in the *Times Educational Supplement* ("Call to Keep the Holocaust out of History Classes", 17 December 1990) of my public debate with Professor Kochan, entitled "Teaching the Holocaust: For or Against?", organised at Friends' House, Euston on 28 November 1990 by the Institute of Contemporary History and Wiener Library and chaired by Dr David Cesarani.
108. For details of two more recent and more thorough surveys of English teachers' views, see Geoffrey Short, "The Holocaust in the National Curriculum - a Survey of Teachers' Attitudes and Practices" in *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, Volume 4,

Winter 1995, Number 2 (Frank Cass, London), pp.167-188; and Carrie Supple, "The Teaching of the Nazi Holocaust in North Tyneside, Newcastle and Northumberland Secondary Schools" (unpublished manuscript, School of Education, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1992).

109. See Gill Seidel, *The Holocaust Denial: Antisemitism, Racism and the New Right* (Leeds, Beyond the Pale Collective, 1986), passim, and Deborah Lipstadt, "Holocaust-denial and the Compelling Force of Reason", *Patterns of Prejudice*, 26, 1992, pp. 64-76.

110. Michael Marrus, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. xiv.

111. Landau, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

112. Some of the key questions - historical and educational - that my book identifies and addresses are to be found in Landau, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-6.

113. See, for example, Geoffrey Short, "Teaching the Holocaust: the Relevance of Children's Perceptions of Jewish Culture and Identity", *British Educational Research Journal*, 20 (3) 1994b, pp. 393-406, and B. Carrington and G. Short, "The Development of Children's Understanding of Jewish Identity and Culture", *School Psychology International*, 13 (1), 1992, pp. 73-89.

114. Landau, *op. cit.*

115. Limitation of space prevents my inclusion here of the full bibliography relating to my research generally into the subject of genocide in the modern age, and specifically into these nine case-studies. But see main bibliography for key texts on genocide (authors: Arens, Baxter, Conquest, Chaliand, Fein, Horowitz, Hughes, Kiernan, Kohen, Kuper, Levene, Melson, Moorhead, Minority Rights Group, Ponchaud, Shawcross and Walker).

116. Henry Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: from Euthanasia to The Final Solution* (University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

117. See also Michael Burleigh's excellent *Death and Deliverance: "Euthanasia" in Germany, 1900-1945* (Cambridge University Press, 1994).

118. Apart from Friedlander's research, the most significant works in the comparatively under-researched field of the extermination of the 'Roma' (Gypsies) by the Nazis and their helpers is: Donald Kendrick & Grattan Puxon, *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies* (Basic Books, 1972); Ian Hancock, "Uniqueness, Gypsies and Jews", *Remembering for the Future*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 2017-2025; and Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Wippermann, *The Racial State: Germany 1933-1945* (Cambridge University Press, 1991).

119. Arno Mayer, *op. cit.*

120. That is, those who don't express their 'Jewishness' in any of the generally recognised ways, but simply feel 'Jewish' in their hearts! See Landau, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-29, for a consideration of the multiplicity - and unpindownability - of modern Jewish identities.

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[N.B. Comprehensive bibliographies for the different parts and chapters of *The Nazi Holocaust* appear on pp. 276-288 of the book. The following bibliography relates to this context statement.]

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APPENDIX A

CHART:

**CONSIDERATIONS AND DILEMMAS
IN TEACHING THE HOLOCAUST**

by

**Ronnie S Landau
(1984)**

CONSIDERATIONS AND DILEMMAS IN TEACHING THE HOLOCAUST

by Ronnie Landau (1984)

There are many methodological traps into which teachers of the Holocaust can fall. They should try to find a balance, or steer a course, between the following extremes (Scylla and Charybdis).

['It is the nature of dilemmas that whenever one takes one side or another and stretches it to its utmost limits, one is in danger of bringing one's case *ad absurdum*. This is perhaps the tragic dimension of the term 'dilemma': one cannot choose between two or more possibilities but has to consider them, knowing the limits and shortcomings of each of them. Guided by educational rather than by ideological deliberation, this consideration should be done, not by taking this side or another, but by reflecting on all possibilities and by considering their implications.' (Chaim Schatzker)]

Scylla Charybdis

OVERALL APPROACH

A

1. INSISTENCE ON UNIQUENESS SURRENDER TO BANALITY

a) An approach which stresses the incomparable abnormality of the Holocaust (Nazism demonised).

The Holocaust as a mere symbol for the baseness of human nature.

b) 'Planet Auschwitz'. Holocaust susceptible to clinical, academic analysis, translatable into modern educational forms, e.g. simulation (ugh!).

c) An approach that deals only with the particular lessons for Jews (Holocaust deuniversalised).

Holocaust located (lost?) in host of disciplines, eg. moral education, psychology, theology, general history (Holocaust deludaised).

PERSPECTIVE

2.

Approach that is strictly chronological and 'historical'.

Approach that deals only with the ethical, psychological and/or theological dimensions.

3. TONE

'Emotional' approach.

An approach that is too dispassionate and 'academic'.

B DILEMMAS WITHIN SUBJECT

1. THEORIES ON THE NATURE OF ANTISEMITISM AND NAZI IDEOLOGY

a) Antisemitism unique, 'cosmic' and timeless.

Antisemitism one (extreme) form of 'prejudice'.

b) Holocaust 'logical' product of 2,000 year continuum.

Nazism essentially a parable for the darker side of modernity. Therefore Holocaust may be torn from context of Jewish history and history of antisemitism.

c) Antisemitism CENTRAL to Nazi ideology AND policy.

Nazi antisemitism purely instrumental ('scapegoat' theory).

d) Jews as special victims of Nazism.

Jews, Slavs, Gypsies, homosexuals, etc. as equal victims.

e) 'Final Solution' planned over long term.

Final solution essentially improvised.

f) Killing Jews more important than winning war.

Holocaust as by-product of World War Two.

2. THE THEOLOGICAL 'MEANING' OF THE HOLOCAUST

a) Holocaust can be explained with God.

Holocaust can be explained only without God.

b) Fackenheim's '614th Commandment' - interpretation (i).

Fackenheim's '614th Commandment' - interpretation (ii).

c) Holocaust 'proves' bankruptcy of 'Christian' civilisation.

Holocaust essentially an attack on Christianity itself.

3. THE BYSTANDERS

'All are responsible'.

'None are responsible'.

4. SIGNIFICANCE OF HITLER

'One madman is to blame'.

'It could have happened without Hitler'.

5. JEWISH BEHAVIOUR

Emphasis on Jewish passivity and virtual 'collaboration' in their own destruction.

Exaggerating the incidence of Jewish resistance, physical and spiritual (overcompensation).

6. THE HOLOCAUST AND ISRAEL

a) Israel as a Jewish answer to Hitler.

Israel as essentially a product of 19th-century Jewish/European history.

b) Post-Holocaust 'Jewish survival' as an end in itself.

The content of Jewish/Israeli survival as decisive.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF CANDIDATE'S PUBLICATIONS

RONNIE S LANDAU - PUBLICATIONS

- * Book: 'The Nazi Holocaust' (IB Tauris, London and New York, 1992), 356 pp. - shortlisted for Jewish Quarterly's 1993 Book Prize (non-fiction category); American edition, (Ivan R Dee, Chicago, 1994).
- * Academic, educational, review and popular articles, of which the following are a few relevant examples:
 - a) "Never Again?" [article on war crimes in Bosnia within context of 20th-century genocide] in *History Today*, Volume 44 [3] March 1994.
 - b) "The Nazi Holocaust: its Moral, Historical and Educational Significance" - [chapter] in Monica Bohm-Duchen (ed.), *After Auschwitz: Responses to the Holocaust in Contemporary Art* (Lund Humphries, 1995).
 - c) "The Holocaust: Unique and Universal" in Jonathan Davis (ed.), *Film, History and the Jewish Experience* (National Film Theatre Publication, 1986).
 - d) "On Martin Gilbert's Approach to the Holocaust" in *Jewish Quarterly*, Vol 33 No 4 (124), 1986.
 - e) "A Meeting of Past and Present" in *Jewish Chronicle* (18 February 1983).
 - f) Review Article on Henry Friedlander, 'The Origins of Nazi Genocide: from Euthanasia to the Final Solution' (University of North Carolina Press, 1995) in *Judaism Today* (No. 5, Autumn 1996).
- * Published book reviews - in *Judaism Today*, *The Jewish Quarterly*, *The Jewish Chronicle*, *Jewish Socialist*, *Manna* - of the following works:

Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust: The Jewish Tragedy* (1986); Michael Marrus, *The Holocaust in History* (1987); Anita Shapira, *Berl* [Biography of Berl Katznelson], (1986); Israel Charny (ed.), *Genocide: a Critical Bibliographical Review* (1988); Gerard Chaliand (ed.), *Minority Peoples in the Age of Nation-States* (1988); Martin Gilbert, *Atlas of the Holocaust* (1989 edition); Yehuda Bauer, *Out of the Ashes* (1989); Evyatar Friesel, *Atlas of Modern Jewish History* (1990); Robert Manson, *The Pax Legalis Papers: Nuclear Conspiracy and the Law* (1995).

- * Forthcoming Publication: Book - Educational Companion to *The Nazi Holocaust*, commissioned by Routledge, London, c. 250 pp.; likely publication date: 1998. [Includes separate chapter on genocide in the modern age, with 9 case studies of other twentieth-century genocides.]
- * Appointed Editor-in-chief of international, multidisciplinary anthology of scholarly essays exploring the postwar impact of the Holocaust on both the Christian and Jewish 'worlds' (manuscript accepted and scheduled for publication by Pergamon Press); contributors included Elie Wiesel, Eberhard Jaeckel, Yehuda Bauer, Franklin Littell, David Bankier, Saul Friedlander, Alice Eckhardt, Eva Fleischner, and Norman Solomon. not
to be
published
by
Pergamon.
- * Wrote paper, on behalf of Holocaust Educational Trust (1990), presenting argument to East European education ministers for inclusion of Holocaust in their schools' curricula.
- * Devised and wrote 19-part correspondence course on modern Jewish history (c.1780-1948) for internal use at the Spiro Institute for the Study of Jewish History and Culture - written during period 1985-1987.
- * Wrote, produced and directed an educational film, 'The Face of Jewish Socialism' [32 minutes, 1/2 inch U-matic, Spiro Institute Production, 1986].

ADDENDUM, p. 78

This chart was produced by the author to accompany and illustrate a series of lectures given to teachers and trainee teachers during the mid-1980s. It was written in a kind of short hand - it was never intended that it be free-standing and self-explanatory. For example, 'Fackenheim's 614th Commandment', alluded to in 2. b), under the heading 'Theological "Meaning" of the Holocaust', is that additional Jewish 'commandment' postulated by the philosopher and theologian Emil Fackenheim in *The Jewish Return to History* (Schocken Books, 1978), which I shall paraphrase as "Thou shalt not hand Hitler a posthumous victory"; like many Jewish commandments, it has proved susceptible to several quite different and, in this particular instance, opposing interpretations.

The chart is included here to show, on a single page, one way of presenting some of the conceptual, historiographical and methodological difficulties and dilemmas involved in teaching the Holocaust. It also represents, to a degree, some of the early thinking on which my book would eventually be built.